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THE BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN OF TELLA (d. A.D. 537) BY ELIAS TRANSLATED FROM THE SYRIAC WITH A HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC COMMENTARIES

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THE BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN OF TELLA (d. A.D. 537)

BY

ELIAS

TRANSLATED FROM THE SYRIAC WITH A HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC COMMENTARIES

A thesis submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Wisconsin in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

by

Joseph Renée Ghanem

Degree to be awarded

January 19—

June 19<u>70</u>

August 19—

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To Professors: Schoville

Mansoor

Howe

This thesis having been approved in respect to form and mechanical execution is referred to you for judgment upon its substantial merit.

Robert M. Bock

Dean

Approved as satisfying in substance the doctoral thesis requirement of the University of Wisconsin.

M. Mansoor

Major Professor

K. Schoville. M.Ma.

Herbert M Howe

Date of Examination, May 29 **19** 70

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THE BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN OF TELLA (d. A.D. 537)

by

ELIAS

Translated from the Syriac with a Historical Introduction and Historical and Linguistic Commentaries

BY

JOSEPH R. GHANEM

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
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at the

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1970

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PREFACE

The present work is a critical study of a Syriac document of the sixth century: The Biography of Bishop John of Tella. It includes a Historical Introduction, an English Translation, done from the Syriac text for the first time, and a philological and historical Commentary on the content. The purpose of this study is to provide scholars with a reliable tool for further study.

In order to keep the flavor of the Syriac tongue, I purposely chose to make a translation which is more literal than literary, as much as the differences between the two languages allow. Here I am following a road already trodden by scholars such as Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, R. Payne Smith, W. Wright and many others who undertook similar endeavors in this field.

It is now my most pleasant duty to thank my advisor, Professor Menahem Mansoor, to whose wise counsel and unfailing kindness I owe so much. Well aware of the importance of this Biography, Professor Mansoor suggested that I work on it. Busy though his life was, he spared neither time nor trouble to supervise my work throughout all its stages. My thanks to him should also be extended to include the period of three years which I spent as a student and as a Teaching Assistant in the Department of Hebrew and

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Semitic Studies. I wish also to express my gratitude to Professors Howe, Catalán, Barker, Inksetter and Keith, who kindly consented to examine this dissertation and offered many valuable suggestions. Dr. G. Egan and the late Professor R. Jenkins, both from Dumbarton Oaks, were always ready to answer any request.

It goes without saying that only the writer bears the responsibility for any short-comings in this dissertation and he welcomes any suggestions that would contribute to the improvement of his work.

Special thanks for financial matters are due to the Graduate School of the University of Wisconsin in Madison for a University Fellowship for the Summer Session of 1968. I am particularly indebted in this respect also to the Trustees of Harvard University at Dumbarton Oaks Center, Washington, D.C. who granted me the honor of being a Junior Fellow of the Center during the academic year 1968-69.

I wish also to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Director of the General Library of the University of Wisconsin in Madison and to Mrs. Jacqueline Kelly, and to Mr. M. Packard, Librarian at Dumbarton Oaks, for securing for me the necessary microfilms of the manuscripts from the British Museum and the Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesits - Marburg, respectively.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

ACO	Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum, ed. E. Schwartz (Berlin and Leipzig, 1914-).
AG	Annus graecorum.
AM	Annus mundi.
ANET	Ancient Near Eastern Texts, ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, 1955).
BO	Bibliotheca orientalis Clementino-Vaticana I-III by J. S. Assemani (Rome, 1719-1728).
Cat	Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum by Wm. Wright (London, 1870-72).
COD	Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta, ed. Centro di Documentazione (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1962).
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum Christianorum orientalium, ed. J.-B. Chabot et al. (Paris and Louvain, 1903-).
DACL	Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, ed. F. Cabrol et H. Leclercq (Paris, 1907-).
DKC	Das Konzil von Chalkedon, ed. A. Grillmeier and H. Bacht (Würzburg, 1951-54).
DTC	Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, ed. A. Vacant et al. (Paris, 1935-).
EB	Ernest W. Brooks, Vitae virorum apud monophysitas celeberrimorum: Vita Johannis episcopi Tellae in CSCO, XXV (Paris, 1907).
Eccl. Hist.	The Ecclesiastical History of John of Ephesus. Trans. R. Payne Smith (Oxford, 1860).
EEM	Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie Antérieure au VIe siècle by Ernest Honigmann CSCO, CXXVII (Louvain, 1951).
HBE	History of the Byzantine Empire by A. Vasiliev (Madison, 1964).
MH	The Hebrew Massoretic Text as it is produced by the Biblia Hebraica of Rud. Kittel and P. Kahle (Stuttgart, 1949).
K	Hendrik G. Kleyn, Het Leven van Johannes van Tella (Leiden, 1882).
Lit.	Literally.
LXX	The Septuagint, ed. A. Rahlfs (Stuttgart, 1950).
Mansi	Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, ed. J. D. Mansi (Paris and Leipzig, 1901-27).
P	The Peshitta (London, 1950 and 1954).
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1857-1945).

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PL	Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1844-1968).
PO	Patrologia orientalis, ed. R. Graffin et al. (Paris, 1907-).
RSV	The Holy Bible. Revised Standard Version (New York, 1946 and 1952).
Syr. Litt.	A Short History of Syriac Literature by Wm. Wright (London, 1894).
Thes.	Thesaurus Syriacus by R. Payne Smith (Oxford, 1879-1901).
V	The Vulgate, ed. Monachorum Abbatiae Pontificiae S. Hieronimi in Urbe Ordinis Sancti Benedicti (Marietti-/ Roma /, 1959).

VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE

Biblia hebraica, ed. Rud. Kittel and P. Kahle. Stuttgart, 1949 (MH).

Biblia sacra Vulgatae editionis...Editio emendatissima apparatu critico instructa cura et studio Monachorum Abbatiae Pontificiae Sancti Hieronymi in Urbe Ordinis Sancti Benedicti. Marietti / Rome /, 1959 (V).

Novum Testamentum Graece, ed. Eberhard Nestle et al. Stuttgart, 1960.

Peshitta: The Old Testament, ed. Trinitarian Bible Society. London, 1954.
The New Testament, ed. The British and Foreign Bible Society. London, 1950 (P).

Septuaginta, ed. Alfred Rahlfs. 2 vols. Stuttgart, 1950 (LXX).

The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments. Revised Standard Version. Thomas Nelson and Sons. New York, 1946, 1952 (RSV).

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Historical Introduction

The Biography of John of Tella documents many aspects of the Byzantine Empire in the first half of the sixth century A.D. In this rather short biography, emperors, bishops, scholars, soldiers, monks, commoners and even diplomatic relations with a foreign state have found a place. Thus, the archeologist, the historian, the jurist, the linguist, the numismatist, the theologian, the student of the Bible, and many other scholars may find in it useful data for their fields of study and research. But the particular interest of this text lies in its biographical subject-matter, namely, the life of Bishop John of Tella, an outstanding Monophysite who, like many others of his sect, eventually died with the conviction that he held the Orthodox belief and had followed the teaching of the Fathers of the Church, the very things which Emperor Justinian (A.D. 527-65) had endeavored to impose on the subjects of his entire empire, the East and the West as well.

The first scholar in modern times to inform the academic world in the West of John of Tella was J. S. Assemani in his famous Bibliotheca orientalis.[1] However, Assemani apparently did not have a firsthand knowledge

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of the biography of John of Tella as an independent literary work, since he clearly indicated that the sources of his information about John of Tella were the Chronicle of Dionysius of Tell-Mahrē,[2] and the Book of Directions of Bar-Hebraeus.[3]

In the nineteenth century four different manuscripts containing, among other things, biographies of John of Tella turned up in two European libraries:

1. Brit. Mus. Add. 12.174 (=A), fols. 152v-165v. The manuscript is vellum, about 19 in. by 12½; each page is divided into two columns and the number of lines varies from 38 to 50. It is written in a good, regular hand and dated A. Gr. 1508, A.D. 1197.[4]

2. Brit. Mus. Add. 14.622 (=B). "The volume," Wright says, "is imperfect both at the beginning and end, and leaves are also wanting after fols. 21 and 25." It is a vellum about 9 7/8 in. by 6 3/8, consisting of 27 leaves; each page is divided into two columns of from 23 to 27 lines. The manuscript is written in a good regular hand of about the ninth century. It contains the biography of John of Tella only.[5]

3. The manuscript of Berlin (now in Marburg, as I stated in the Preface), is known as Sachau 321 (=C), fols. 147v-166r. Edward Sachau and after him Ernest W. Brooks date this manuscript about A.D. 741.[6] However, M.-A. Kugener in his "Avertissement" to Vie de Sévère,

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in Patrologia Orientalis, II (Paris, n.d.), p. 205 n. 1, thinks that it is probably of the ninth century.

4. Brit. Mus. Add. 14.647. Vellum, about 11 3/8 in. by 7 1/4, consisting of 171 leaves, some of which are much stained and torn. Each page is divided into two columns of from 36 to 44 lines. This manuscript is written in a good, regular Estrangelā, and dated A. Gr. 999, A.D. 688.[7]

Manuscripts A, B and C are essentially the same text, but the fourth one, Brit. Mus. Add. 14.647, is not only a different text, but also is a different biography and is titled, The Story of the Blessed John of Tella.

The author of manuscripts A, B and C is a certain Elias, who was a disciple and constant companion of Bishop John. We know nothing more about this Elias[8] except that he wrote this biography at the urgent request of the Patricians Sergius and Paul. As for the author of the fourth text, he was the famous historian Bishop John of Asia, who was also known as John of Ephesus. He knew the bishop of Tella personally, for he was ordained deacon by him in the year 840 of the Greeks (A.D. 529), as he himself tells us in his work.[9] Because this story by John of Ephesus is entirely different from the one written by Elias, it will not be included in this study except for reference purposes. All the manuscripts except B have been translated into Western languages.

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B has not been translated mainly because of its lacunae; however, it was used and it must be used, for purposes of textual criticism. Thus in 1882 Hendrik G. Kleyn translated into Dutch and made an edition of the Syriac text of A.[10] He also collated A with B and showed the different readings in his critical apparatus to the Syriac text. Having been informed by Sachau's Verzeichniss der syrischen Handschriften der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin that C was older than A, Brooks decided to translate C into Latin. He published the Syriac text and the Latin translation in the Corpus scriptorum Christianorum orientalium.[11] Brooks also made a critical apparatus to his Syriac text and incorporated into it the variants of A and B which Kleyn had previously established. Since I am not offering here a critical edition of the Syriac text, I need not discuss in detail all the problems involved in such an arduous task. They are exclusively the domain of textual criticism. However, for a fair assessment of the manuscripts and to justify my choice for the preferred text, I should like to mention briefly that a close look at the Syriac texts and their critical apparatus as they are edited now by Kleyn and Brooks respectively shows several things.

First, that obviously none of the three manuscripts is an autograph, because the copies of the text, as pointed out above, are dated from the 9th and 12th centuries.

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Second, the manuscripts do not stem from a common example, a fact which can be proved by the variants which are given in the critical apparatus of the edition of text C.

Third, none of the manuscripts is perfect as far as grammar is concerned, for beside these solecisms I have pointed out in the footnotes to the text of my translation, there are many others which can be seen in the critical apparatus of Brook's edition.

Fourth, after due consideration of all the texts, C was selected as the preferred text to be the basis of this translation, because it offers, with few exceptions, the best readings. Manuscript A has the tendency to omit relevant items, whether a single word (cf. Brook's edition, p. 32, n. 8), or a whole sentence (cf. id. p. 31, n. 3). Manuscript B, on the contrary, tends rather to add unnecessary elements to the text (cf. id. p. 41, n. 10 and passim); sometimes these additions in B corrupt entirely the original meaning of the text (cf. id. p. 42, n. 17 where the text reads: "he said to her 'O daughter of the free born ones...!" as against C which reads: "the love of Christ had started with vigour in his soul....")

Fifth, the substantial number of variants indicates that the original text had gone through an unknown number of editions. Thus, although I chose C as the preferred text, nonetheless, in order to clarify an obscure sentence and recover the idea of the author, I did not hesitate to use either one of the other two texts

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when it was necessary, but I indicated precisely in the footnotes which manuscript had been used.

The Biography of John of Tella was written in times plagued with theological controversies, religious persecutions and with almost continuous wars between the Persians and the Romans (Byzantines) on one hand, and between these and the invading waves of various Germanic tribes on the other. There was also much dissatisfaction of a large segment of the population of the Byzantine Empire itself, particularly in Egypt and in the Syrian world. Many Syriac literary sources have recorded these events, either in books exclusively dedicated to them, or just by alluding to them as circumstances allowed. Thus, for example, in the field of historical writings, we find such works as the Poem of Isaac the Great of Antioch (d. A.D. 460) which describes the destruction of Antioch by the earthquake of the year A.D. 459; the Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite, written about A.D. 507, concerning the war the Persians waged against the Romans; the Letter of Bishop Ibas of Edessa (d. A.D. 457) to Mārī the Persian in which Ibas gives his addressee details about the reconciliation of John of Antioch with Cyril of Alexandria; the Letters of Jacob of Serūgh (d. A.D. 521) to the Monks and also his Letters to the Arab Ḥimyarite Christians of Najrān; the Letters of Philoxenus of Mabbōgh (d. A.D. 523) to the Monks; the encyclical letter of Simeon

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of Beth-Arshām (d. A.D. 548) on Bar-Ṣauma and the sect of the Nestorians and also his letter to Simeon, abbot of Gabbula, on the persecution of the Christians of Najrān by Dhū Nuwas, King of Yemen in A.D. 523. There are also the anonymous story of Simeon the Stylite and the Life of Severus by John, abbot of Beth-Aphtōnya (d. A.D. 538).

In the theological field, we have of the above mentioned Isaac of Antioch, a discourse against the Nestorians and a discourse against the Eutychians. Acacius, the Nestorian Patriarch of Seleucia (d. A.D. 496) wrote some discourses against the Monophysites. Gabriel of Hormizdshēr (d. about A.D. 540) wrote two books against the Manicheans and the Chaldeans (Astrologers). The fiery and prolific Philoxenus of Mabbōgh wrote no less than eighty titles on a variety of theological and biblical subjects. Paul of Callinicus, one of the banished Monophysite bishops by emperor Justin's decree of the year A.D. 519, translated from the Greek into Syriac a good number of Severus' works.

In the field of Law and Jurisprudence, the "most important though anonymous work....the so-called "Civil Laws of the Emperors Constantine, Theodosius and Leo," writes W. Wright in his book, A Short History of Syriac Literature (London, 1894), p. 95, was made from Greek into Syriac in "the earlier part of the sixth century."

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Put within this historical perspective, this biography will appear more clear and more valuable in as much as it continues a literary tradition and it records a good number of the events of those days.

Moreover, within the vast and varied field of Syriac Literaure, The Biography of John of Tella belongs to the hagiographic group. This literary genre historically goes back to the early centuries of the Christian literature and probably to a Graeco-roman tradition, as Delehaye has shown in his monumental studies in this field.[12] Hagiography is not history in the proper sense of the word, but is a special kind of historical literature.[13] Nevertheless, Hagiography can in many ways be a unique source for an accurate and complete history of early Christianity and of the Byzantine State. It often includes information which is lacking in other sources as, for example, in matters concerning peasant life. History can sometimes be biased, for historians and chroniclers were often officially appointed by the Imperial Court.[14] In some cases, the historical data is vague and obscure and it needs to be clarified with concrete examples which are only found in hagiographical literature. This biography, indeed, offers this sort of examples which illustrate this point: for instance, the extradition of Bishop John to the Romans by the Persians should point to a clause in the treaty signed

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in A.D. 532 between Justinian and the Persian king Chosroes (cf. pp.83-4 and n. 242 of our translation); the use of the "safe-conduct-document" (cf. id. p.69 and n. 165), or finally a comparison of the injunction imposed on the deacon of Ḥarrān either to receive the Eucharist or pay a fine (cf. id. p.99 f.), with a similar case which John of Ephesus mentions in regard to Ephraim of Antioch's policy on this matter.[15] These are just some of the examples which I can mention here. Furthermore, the Biography of John of Tella is itself a concrete example of Justinian religious policy of that time.

One should note also that Syriac hagiography is just part of that very large and active literary movement which was at its height among the Christians all over the world between the fourth and seventh centuries A.D.; François Halkin does not hesitate to extend its vigorous survival in the Byzantine Empire even to the fall of Constantinople (A.D. 1453): "A Byzance, c'est parmi les Vies des saints qu'il faut chercher les succes de librairie, les best-sellers."[16] It is thought that Patriarch Athanasius of Alexandria (A.D. 295-373), in his Life of Antony "originated the model for this new literary form."[17] Without attempting to enumerate all the features of theme and style which are common with many other works of the same genre, I give, in the footnotes to the text, some examples to illustrate the expansion and the interrelationship of literature.[18]

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The Syriac of the text is good in general; sometimes the style becomes flowery and rhetorical as in the Introduction. In many instances, the text is pregnant with biblical allusions which I have always tried to identify. Some sentence structure, for example in p. 61, lines 10-11 of the Syriac text, and the great number of Greek words that occur in the text suggest an original Greek work; however, since the biblical references, as Brooks correctly pointed out, indicate the use of the Peshitta text rather than the Greek text, then there is no doubt that the work under discussion was originally written in Syriac.[19] Therefore, the existence of so many Greek words, particularly those of a technical nature, can be attributed only to the impact of the Hellenistic culture that began with the Seleucid period and remained, as a mark of distinction of the urban societies of the East, until the Arab conquest. Greek science and philosophy were quite at home in all the three famous Syrian schools of Antioch, Edessa, and Nisībis.[20] John of Tella knew Greek very well, as we are told in this biography, and there is every reason to believe that a writer like Elias, whose style shows polish and a mastery of rhetorical rules also, knew Greek well. Another proof of it would be his proper use of the current Hellenistic jargon which had invaded Syriac culture.

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Elias is also a good biographer, for he gives clear images of both the handsome physical appearance of Bishop John and his fine character. He narrates a good number of the deeds and interventions of his hero into the problems of the society of his day and indicates their relevancy to the spiritual life of the Monophysites. In tying together the concrete figure of Bishop John and the events which occurred in the first half of the sixth century, Elias has created a piece of work which is both esthetic and scholarly.[21]

But since John of Tella is portrayed as a completely perfect man, one might object that the biographer was biased and so interpreted everything in the life of his master in a rather idealistic way. Following this reasoning, Elias would not be considered a trustworthy source for history at every point.

To this apparently legitimate objection, I can offer three convincing answers: First, "There have been many first-rate biographies by relatives and friends, including most of the really outstanding studies of all times", says John Garraty who mentions the Life of Archibald Alexander by his son James W. Alexander and that of Dorothy Caruso who wrote about her husband's life.[22] Second, we have at least two other sources to consult and thus check on the veracity of Elias, namely, the other Life of John of Tella written by Bishop John of Ephesus,[23]

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and those writings of John of Tella himself which survived.[24] These sources confirm, each one in its own way, what Elias says about his master. Therefore, if the historian wishes to "re-enact" the past of John of Tella, as R. G. Collingwood likes to say,[25] he indeed can rely on Elias' work as an objective source of information. Moreover, there is also a third source, namely the references which the other authors made to John of Tella in conjunction with the events of his time. Thus, Patriarch Severus of Antioch wrote a letter to John and his colleagues Philoxenus the Younger and Thomas when they had taken refuge on Mount Marda, in which he praised their virtues and their zeal in keeping their votaries in their Monophysite belief.[26] The continuator of the Ecclesiastical History of Zachariah of Mitylene speaks of our John as a "gnostic and a theoretic," that is to say, a contemplative person who knows the inner sense of the Scriptures, "for he used to raise his understanding upwards by the study of spiritual things for the space of three hours, marvelling and meditating on the wisdom of the works of God; for three hours more, from the sixth to the ninth, he continued in joy and peace with every man...."[27] These very words are repeated again by the famous historian Patriarch Michael the Syrian (d. A.D. 1199) in his Chronicle.[28]

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Bishop John was born in A.D. 482-483 in Callinicus, a city the size of Edessa, on the Euphrates River in the Osrohene Province. He was the only child of one of the noble families of the city. At the age of two and a half years, upon the death of his father Cursus,[29] John became an orphan. Along with his native Syriac culture, John was given a good education in Greek literature and science as was the custom then among upper class families in the East. When he was twenty years old, in order to get training in secular affairs, his mother and grandparents secured for him an appointment in the palace of the duke of the city.[30] They also appointed for his guidance a godly tutor. At this time John had a spiritual crisis during which he felt very strongly attracted to the monastic life. When his mother objected to his plans, he fled to the nearby Monastery of Saint Zaḥḥay, where he received the monastic tonsure at the age of twenty-five (507-508). Historians present John of Tella as one of the small but committed group of radical Monophysites that clustered around Philoxenus of Mabbōgh. For, while still a monk, he attended the synod of Sidon (511), and stood for the Monophysitic creed, as André de Halleux has shown in his book Philoxène de Mabbog. Sa vie, ses écrits, sa théologie (Louvain, 1963), p. 54 n. 29, p. 71 n. 52, and p. 83 n. 45.

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In 519 at the death of Sophronius, Bishop of Tella, the bishops of the Osrohene Province met in a provincial synod in Edessa under the presidency of Metropolitan Paul in order to elect a successor to the deceased bishop. Having been informed of John's saintly life, they decided to call on him and ordain him Bishop of Tella. He turned down the offer and escaped to the countryside, but they followed him and argued that the (Monophysite) Church was in great need of strong pastors because of the severe persecution it was suffering from the Dyophysites. In the end, Bishop Jacob of Serugh convinced him to accept the episcopate. Indeed, it was the time of Emperor Justin the First whose religious policy was to impose the Creed of the Council of Chalcedon (451) on all his Christian subjects. This was just the opposite to the religious policy of his predecessor, Emperor Anastasius (491-518) who had sided with the Monophysites. John then accepted the offer and, subsequently, Paul of Edessa, assisted by his suffragan bishops, ordained him bishop. Bishop John remained two years in his see, arguing with the Chalcedonians and strengthening his Monophysite flock. In 521 an imperial edict was published in the East (Mesopotamia) compelling all the bishops either to accept the Chalcedonian Creed or leave their dioceses. A staunch Monophysite, John withdrew to his former monastery and shortly after, he and all the other Monophysite monks were expelled and dispersed

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into deserted regions. Zachariah of Mitylene in his Chronicle (ed. and trans. F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks [London, 1899], p. 207) mentions the names of the bishops who were forced to resign because of Emperor Justin's decree. They were "Antoninus of Berrhoea (modern Aleppo), and Thomas of Damascus, and Thomas of Dara, and John of Constantia, and Thomas of Amrin(?) and Peter of Rhesaina, and Constantine of Laodicea, and Peter of Apamea, and others."

It was during this time of exile and persecution that Bishop John, inflamed with extraordinary zeal, did the most important thing for the survival of Monophysitism, namely, ordained ministers of all ranks for the churches in Mesopotamia and Persia. However, Bishop John did not undertake this mission without the prior approval of his fellow bishops, who were intimidated by the imperial measures. Furthermore, he asked honest and learned persons from all over Mesopotamia, as well as from Armenia, Arzanenia and Cappadocia etc., to recruit qualified men and have them sent to him to be ordained priests. The minimum he required from the candidate was that he would be able to read the Scriptures, recite the Psalms and know how to sign his name! Should there be a deficiency, Bishop John would not hesitate to remedy it by teaching the candidate. The count of John of Ephesus of those who were ordained by John of Tella

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approaches 170,000 men! Perhaps there is an exaggeration in that figure, but historically it is proven that the great number of ordinations he performed provoked the anger and indignation of the Chalcedonian bishops who moved into the vacant sees after the promulgation of the above mentioned edict and who threatened in the Emperor's name to put him to death if he would not refrain from his ordaining activities. John's answer was that he had received that power from God and as long as he would live and be able to extend his hands and impose them on the candidates, he would never be intimidated or refrain from doing so. In order to avoid a possible sudden attack from his enemies, Bishop John was forced to change his lodging place very often by going from one monastery to another or even to take refuge in the Marda and Singara Mountains located in the district of Nisibis which was already under Persian rule.

John was one of six Monophysite bishops whom Emperor Justinian had invited to Constantinople to discuss, in a joint meeting with six Chalcedonian bishops, the dogmatic differences and thus bring an end to what appeared to be a serious division in the Eastern part of the empire.[31] But unfortunately that conference - known as the Collatio Constantinopolitana - met with complete failure. The Monophysite bishops, since they had been given an imperial safe-conduct, returned safely to their

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places but with the injunction to refrain from performing any ministerial service to the faithful. However, that order did little to diminish the zeal of Bishop John!

For ecclesiastical matters, Mesopotamia was a part of the Patriarchate of Antioch. At that time, the bishop of Antioch was Ephraim of Amida, a staunch Chalcedonian and former dux Orientis. This Ephraim was one of the imperial policy-makers under Justin the First and Justinian. Zachariah of Mitylene tells us that upon a report from Ephraim to the Emperor on the religious situation in his Patriarchate "there was sent a large force of Romans and Clementinus the tribune and he (Ephraim) received orders in the year fifteen (A.D. 536-537) to traverse the Eastern jurisdiction, and Ephraim to give admonition in words, while Clementinus was to use force to make the inhabitants of the cities in the East accept the Synod, as had been done by the natives of Italy, the land of Rome.... From the hill of Singara in the land of the Persians they took ... John the believing bishop of Constantia by means of a man named Cometas."[32] The biography completes these details by saying that the Patriarch enticed the Persian governor of Nisībis by promising to pay him a large sum of gold if he would assist him to arrest John. The Governor agreed and a joint military expedition of Persians and Romans set out to the mountains of Singara, and there a monophysite-Julianite

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hermit indicated to them John's hiding place.[33] They arrested him on the first of February A.D. 537. For about twenty-four hours they dragged him through the snow and the ice until they reached Nisībīs where he was put in jail for three days before he was extradited to the Romans who brought him to Rîš ʿainā where he appeared, first before Patriarch Ephraim and afterward the Patriarch appointed Rufinus the scholastic to discuss the matters of dogma with Bishop John and to try to win him over. But Bishop John would not yield one inch from his Monophysitic stand. Thereupon they brought him to Antioch and jailed him in Count Manassa Monastery where, due to the strain of ascetism, and the fatigue and trials he was undergoing, he died on the sixth of February 538. The Syrian Monophysite Church honors his memory as a martyr every year on this date.

From Bishop John of Tella we have the following extant literary works:

1. A Treatise of Forty-Eight Canons. It deals with Ecclesiastical and Liturgical matters. Thomas J. Lamy published it with a Latin translation under the title Dissertatio de Syrorum fide et disciplina in re eucharistica (Louvain, 1859), pp. 62-97. François Nau made a French translation of these canons in his book Les canons et les résolutions canoniques de Rabboula, Jean de Tella, etc...(Paris, 1906), pp. 8-19. Lamy's work is

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based only on the Paris Syriac manuscript 64 fols. 267-272; Nau's work is more complete for it is made on the manuscript of Paris with collations with Add. 14631, which is identical to that of Paris, Add. 14493, fols. 150-152 of the Brit. Mus. and on the summary which Bar-Haebreus made of these canons in his Nomocanon as Nau himself reports in his Introduction, p. 6 and nn.4-8.

2. Twenty-Eight Warnings and Precepts given to the Clergy on how to deal properly on different occasions. Karl Kuberczyk published them with a critical apparatus after consulting the five following manuscripts:

1. Paris Syr. Nº 62 fols. 262-267
2. Brit. Mus. Add. 14527 fols. 25-32
3. Brit. Mus. Add. 12155 fols. 220-223
4. Brit. Mus. Add. 14493 fols. 151-152
5. Brit. Mus. Add. 14526 fols. 31-32. Cf.

K. Kuberczyk, Canones Johannis Bar Cursus ... Dissertatio inauguralis (Leipzig, 1901), p. 8. Nau also made a French translation of these Warnings and Precepts in the above mentioned book, Les canons, pp. 20-30.

3. A Treatise on the Trisagion, the manuscript of which is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Marsh 101, fol. 74.

Also there is a collective letter to the monks of Amida where John's signature appears along with those of the others. There are also some quotations from Bishop John in a so-called Catena Patrum (Brit. Mus. Add. 12155).

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All John of Tella's misfortune befell him because, after the Council of Chalcedon, he and other outstanding bishops continued to profess, teach and defend an unacceptable theological doctrine which was expressed in the following formula: In Jesus Christ there was only a single, but Divine Nature (μόνη φύσις) after the union. This formula was considered inappropriate, vague and misleading by the Council and, consequently, it had been rejected. A new formula was created and approved as expressing the true belief of the Church. The new formula defined that there were two natures, the divine and the human in the Person of the Incarnate Christ.

Historically, the abstract form "Monophysitism" was coined by the followers of the Chalcedonian Council to designate their opponents' doctrine. On the other hand the Chalcedonian doctrine was called "Dyophysitism" by the Monophysites. The Monophysites called themselves "Orthodox" and never Monophysites. Although the etymology of the word points rather to a matter of theological nature, nevertheless the historical reality of Monophysitism is by far more complicated and diversified, embracing philosophical and theological systems, State policy, ecclesiastical feuds, personalities and characters, nationalistic feelings, etc. Each of these topics deserves a monograph in order to be studied thoroughly, but that would be beyond the limits of this Introduction,

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which is intended only to serve as a background to this biography and to make it better understood and appreciated by integrating it into the mainstream of the affairs of those days. Therefore I must limit myself exclusively to those essential elements which provide the historical setting. However, in the footnotes referring to each one of these topics, the reader will find additional as well as bibliographical detail.

Repeatedly, the Church solemnly defined that Christ the Word is true God, equal to the Father (Council of Nicaea 325 on the occasion of Arius' heresy),[34] and true Man (Councils of Alexandria 362, Rome 376,..., and of Constantinople 381, on the occasion of the heresy of Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea).[35] But then, was Christ one "thing" or two? One "being" or two? This was the most difficult problem with which the Christian thinkers of the fifth century were faced.

The theologians of the Alexandrine Christian School formulated their theological ideas and their exegetical works within a platonic framework.[36] In scriptural interpretation for example, they followed the allegorical method and in theology they tended to be idealists and mystics. In fact, these teachers were simply following a secular tradition, which through Paul and Philo went back ultimately to the rabbis.[37] Thus, when interpreting Jn. 1:14, which is their preferred Scriptural

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text in Christology, the Alexandrians made a massive use of words such as: οὐσία, φύσις, πρόσωπον, σύνθεσις, κρᾶσις, etc., which had at that time platonic connotations. These and several other key words are frequent in their theological writings. But before we proceed any further, we must recognize that basically the teachers of both schools, namely that of Alexandria and that of Antioch, held the orthodox dogma in this matter, that is that Jesus Christ, the Logos, is true God and true Man. Thus, according to Sellers, Origen "is the first to speak of Jesus Christ as the 'God-Man'," with two distinct natures, the divine and the human.[38] Athanasius also in his Contra Arianos, 1. 9, calls Him "homoousios" with the Father. The doctrine of Malchion, Apollinaris, Cyril, etc. is not any different.[39] As for the Antiochians, it is well known that this was their very own Christological thesis as will be shown later. Moreover, they both believed that in spite of the existence of the two distinct natures in Jesus Christ there were not two individuals or two Christs but one and that in Him there were "united the two 'elements' of Godhead and manhood."[40] To express this peculiar personality of Jesus Christ the Alexandrian teachers had four words which they used interchangeably.

First there was the term "'prósopon.' The original meaning of the term is, of course, 'face.' From this sense, and from others derived from it, it came to

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express 'the external being or individual self as presented to an onlooker.'"[41]

"A second term which they could use was 'hypóstasis,'" says Robert V. Sellers, after George L. Prestige. In the active sense it means "that which gives support." ... "And so 'hypóstasis' could be used to signify 'particular objects or individuals'". In the passive sense, it means "that which underlies ... 'the raw material, stuff, or 'matter' out of which an object is constructed', ... and so the term could be used to signify 'reality and genuiness.' Both usages were recognized by the Church; after the Council of Alexandria in 362, it became legitimate to speak of 'three hypostases' or of 'one hypostasis' when discussing 'Theology'".[42]

Thirdly, there was the term "ousía" which according to Aristotle (Categories V, 2^a 11, 2^b 8, 2^a 14 ff.) had two technical values: "primary" and "secondary". "Primary ousia" meant a particular existence, an individual. In this sense it was used by Origen and later on by an origenist, Malchion the Sophist and by Apollinaris of Laodicea and his followers who, speaking of Christ's person, used the word "ousía" as an equivalent to "prósōpon." "Secondary ousía" denoted a 'substantial existence', or "the essential quality shared by a number of particulars as the equivalent, that is, of the Latin substantia."[43]

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The fourth term was "phýsis", nature. It was introduced by Athanasius who had condemned the use of "ousía" after the "Dated" Creed of 359 "because, besides being unscriptural, it was not understood by the people." Once the term "nature" merged semantically with "ousía," then nature "came to bear the same two meanings" that "ousía" once bore, "it could refer either to the particular or to the general," that is to say, to "an individual existence," or to "its generic sense."[44]

At this time of linguistic confusion the happy formula which said "One phýsis of God the Word incarnate", had very wide usage, for it was thought to be genuinely Athanasian , although this formula was in all probability from Apollinaris of Laodicea.[45] Moreover, with Cyril of Alexandria this formula came to summarize the Alexandrian teaching and to be the watchword of the Monophysite Creed as opposed to the Chalcedonian, which the Alexandrians disparagingly tagged as "Nestorianizing."[46]

Furthermore, in order to indicate how intimate was the union of the two natures of the Logos, the Alexandrian teachers used first the terms of "mixture," "unification," "a weaving together," "commingling," etc. until the time when Cyril called it a "hypostatic union" and it stuck.[47]

Because this sort of union was made in the divine person, (or to the Monophysites the divine nature) and

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was so perfect, therefore, Mary, the mother of the incarnate Word, rightfully must be called "theotókos," the Mother of God. This title given to Mary was another successful watchword credited to the Alexandrian theologians, for whom it won allegiance of the majority of the Palestinian and Syrian monks.

The Alexandrian theology triumphed in the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431) which was presided over by Cyril of Alexandria himself. It has been historically proven that Bishop Cyril, articulated and rich as he was, did not hesitate to politick with members of the royal family and with high ranking officials of the imperial court. Pope Celestine also approved the doctrine of the Council and the decisions taken by Cyril, and Nestorius, the opponent of the "theotókos" title, was sent into exile.

However, when all the bishops of the Antiochian delegation, headed by Bishop John of Antioch arrived at Ephesus they found that the Council was practically over and they were not pleased with its decisions. Then John of Antioch promptly appealed to Emperor Theodosius II "and he went into session with his own followers, proclaiming solemnly that Cyril was a heretic like Apollinaris, and had forfeited his see."[48]

Antioch was another famous city of Greek culture and learning. There, Lucian of Samosata (d. A.D. 312) established an Exegetical school whose approaches in

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interpreting the Scripture as well as in Christological matters were quite different from those of the School of Alexandria.[49] The Antiochians claimed to follow in philosophical matters the realistic rationalism of Aristotle. This philosophical system was in harmony with their so-called historico-grammatical method of exegesis. This method of the Antiochians was well in line with the way the Palestinian Jews interpreted the Hebrew Scriptures, that is to say, largely in terms of the Law as it was interpreted by the Talmud and not by the Midrash.[50] It is noteworthy in connection that Lucian and his school, not satisfied with the Septuagint version, made a new edition of the Old Testament based on the original Hebrew text. Scholars tend to think that Dorotheus, a learned Antiochian priest "especially distinguished for his knowledge of Hebrew," was the only qualified person to undertake this scholarly task. This Antiochian "recension of the Bible came into general use in the patriarchates of Antioch and Constantinople and is the ancestor of the early modern printed versions."[51]

In Christology the Antiochian teachers started out also with "the historical Jesus of Nazareth, and worked up to his divinity, the eternal Word."[52] Their preferred scriptural text for this purpose was Philippians 2 : 6-8. Their inductive Aristotelian process was exactly opposite to the deductive platonic process of the Alexandrians,

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whose chosen scriptural text was, as we have seen, John 1:14.

Moreover, during the period the School of Antioch flourished (A.D. 260--after 430), the main philosophical problem that occupied the minds of the intellectuals in the East was that of Man. But, as Richard Norris correctly pointed out, "to discuss the philosophical problem of man as that was conceived in the fourth and early fifth centuries means, in practice, to investigate the teaching of late Platonism on the human soul, its origin, its destiny, and its relation to the body which it animates."[53] A good example of this concern for Anthropology is the treatise On The Nature of Man of about A.D. 400 by Nemesius of Emesa.[54] The condemnation of Apollinaris of Laodicea's doctrine concerning the existence of a human mind in Christ was still well alive in the memory of the Antiochian teachers whose predecessors fought against this Apollinarian theory. Apollinaris (d. a. A.D. 390), denied that Christ had "a human mind (πνεῦμα, νοῦς), "since in Him the heavenly mind of the Lógos takes the place of the highest element in us."[55] Furthermore, such expressions as "weaving together," "unification," "comingling," etc., which were used by the Alexandrians to express the manner in which the union of the Lógos was made with the flesh, were far from pleasing to the Antiochians. All these circumstances compelled

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the Antiochian theologians to develope a doctrine on Christ's manhood with so much detail that it came to appear as if they were upholding the existence of two sons: God the Lógos and the man Christ. It was particularly Nestorius among the Antiochians who overemphasized "the humanness of the Word incarnate" and called Mary "Christotókos" rather than "theotókos."[56]

To explain the phenomenon of the incarnation and the mode of the union of the two natures in one person - the divine - the Antiochians used more or less the same set of terms which the Alexandrians were using. The Antiochians were no more consistent in the usage of the terms than their Alexandrian partners. Sellers (op. cit. p. 148), among other examples gives that of Nestorius' use of the term "prósōpon": "first, in the sense of outward 'appearance', secondly, in that of 'individuality' or 'owness,' and thirdly, in that of the 'person' or 'personage.'" If the term φύσις is equivalent to ὑπόστασις, meaning a concrete and existent substantia, then it is possible to say that in Christ there are two natures or two hypóstases but one prósōpon.[57] However one must say that the overlapping of these terms in both schools is not identical but similar. "The Antiochenes," writes Sellers, "may reject Cyril's 'hypóstasis' and 'natural' union - because, ... taking 'hypóstasis' and 'nature' in this connection in the sense of substantia, they are

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convinced that such expressions must mean that, as a result of the union, the human has been transformed into the divine substantia of Jesus Christ."[58]

Thus, the mis-usage of the linguistic elements led to doctrinal misunderstanding, to polemics and even to diatribes, for example, the case of the Twelve Anathematisms of Cyril and the replies to them, by Theodoret of Cyrus in his Dialogues, by Andrew of Samosata in his Epistles to Cyril, and finally the famous Contra Theopaschitas seu Cyrillianos and the Bazaar of Heracleides by Nestorius.[59] Echos of this misunderstanding are heard quite often throughout the Biography of John of Tella.

The condemnation of Nestorius, his deposition and banishment from his see on one hand,[60] and the council proclamation that Mary is "Theotókos," the Mother of God, on the other hand, won for the Alexandrian teaching, as shown above, the enthusiastic support of the ordinary faithful, and yet more important the support of the monks of Egypt and Palestine who became the true bastions of Monophysitism throughout its history.[61]

The Alexandrian victory at Ephesus still failed to be completely a success, for the Council fell short of bringing lasting peace to the Church and to the Empire as Emperor Theodosius the Second (A.D. 408-50) had wished in his convocatory letter to the bishops of the metropolitan

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sees. On the contrary, it brought more trouble: John of Antioch and Cyril were at odds for about two years.[62] "In 433 they (John and Cyril) agreed on what is known as the Formula of Union, in which John's terminology was combined with Cyril's ... Christ is now termed one person with two phýseis - two 'natures'."[63] However, Cyril's supporters did not understand the meaning of the terms of the new formula. They thought of the Antiochians as being still Nestorians at heart and they blamed Cyril for his stand in this matter.[64]

In the meantime the Apollinarian formula "one phýsis" of the incarnate Word was still quite alive in the minds of many people. Prominent among them were Dioscorus, Bishop of Alexandria (d. A.D. 454) and formerly deacon of Cyril, and Eutyches (d. A.D. 454), an old monk and archimandrite of a huge monastery on the outskirts of Constantinople. Eutyches considered the formula of Union an insult to the memory of Cyril and the Fathers of Ephesus. Dioscorus of Alexandria did not hesitate to back him up.[65] "They both," writes Bowman (op. cit. p. 87), "claimed to be defending the Church against a new Nestorianism." Eutyches teaches that before the union, two natures existed, but after the union the human nature was "absorbed" by the divine nature to such a point that only the divine nature was left. This is one of his many and varied sayings. This was to add fuel

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to an already blazing fire. Historians distinguish between two dogmatically separate types of Monophysitism: a nominal Monophysitism which was held by Cyril before the Formula of Union and by Severus and his followers on the one hand, and a real Monophysitism or Eutychianism which was rejected by the holders of the former type. However when Eutyches cast his formula, this distinction was not known at all. In 448 Eutyches was deposed from his office as a heretic by a local synod held in Constantinople under the presidency of Bishop Flavian. But Eutyches could count on two strong supporters: Chrysaphius, chief minister of Emperor Theodosius, and Bishop Dioscorus of Alexandria. Furthermore, Eutyches wrote to the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Ravenna, Jerusalem, and Thessalonica. Flavian also wrote to Bishop Leo of Rome (A.D. 440-61). Leo wrote back to Flavian a letter which became famous under the name of "Pope Leo's Tome" and "which has remained normative in doctrine and devotion ever since," writes Bowman (op. cit. p. 87). Also Leo's letter is in full agreement with the Formula of Union.

In the meanwhile Emperor Theodosius also sided with Dioscorus and upon his request called a local council in Ephesus in 449. Under the presidency of Dioscorus the synod deposed Flavian of Constantinople, accusing him of being a Nestorian, for he refused to accept Cyril's

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first formula. Flavian died three days later and Monophysitism was hailed as the faith of the Church. The controversy became more and more heated. Bishop Leo of Rome branded this council Latrocinium, the Robbers' Council, and asked the Emperor to call at once a truly ecumenical council somewhere in Italy. But Theodosius turned down the request. However, at the Emperor's unexpected death, his sister Pulcheria succeeded him on the throne. She had Eutyches' protector Chrysaphius executed at once and she appealed to Rome for a council. Leo welcomed the appeal and he gladly agreed.[66]

Emperor Marcian (A.D. 450-457), Pulcheria's husband, called for the council and a large number of bishops attended, with the Pope's delegates at the top of the list. They met in Chalcedon the eighth of October 451. The imperial delegates presided over the whole assembly. From the very beginning the papal delegation tried to assert its superiority over all the bishops in doctrinal and in disciplinary matters as well; Paschasinus, the chairman of the Roman delegation, stood up in the midst of the Assembly and declared that his delegation was instructed to forbid Dioscorus to sit in the council. Should he try to do so, he must be expelled. Otherwise they would leave for Rome.[67] The whole Assembly was deeply impressed by this stand and it was a strong blow that practically knocked out the Monophysites. Flavian

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of Constantinople was posthumously reinstated, Dioscorus was deposed, Eutyches was demoted, and a new Dogmatic Definition of Faith based on the Formula of Union and on Leo's Tome, was drawn up, decreed, and promulgated. This new Definition of Faith declares, "one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, made known in two natures (which exist) without confusion, without change, without division, without separation."[68] It is obvious that this new Definitio Fidei of Chalcedon was substantially the same as that of the Formula of Union of A.D. 433, but it now was made more precise and explicit. This definition was the final victory of the Antiochian teaching over Alexandrian teaching. For the Council of Chalcedon, says A. Vasiliev (History of the Byzantine Empire [Madison, 1952], p. 105), "proved to be of great importance for all subsequent history."

As for the spirit that reigned over the sessions of the Council, historical sources report that these gatherings were far from befitting the pastors of God's people. The sessions were from time to time stormed by a large number of dissenters to such a point that the Imperial delegates were forced to call for order, reminding the Fathers that these "plebeian" shouts are not fit for bishops and are not in the interest of any party in question. There were, for example, the noisy objections which the Egyptian, Palestinian, and Illyrian bishops

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had against the admission to the council of Theodoret of Cyrus who had been condemned in the Council of Ephesus, and against Leo's Tome, about which they had doubts. In addition there was the opposition of the Roman delegates to the famous canon Twenty-eight concerning the precedence of the Constantinopolitan See.[69]

In his final address in the solemn closing session of the Council the Emperor decreed a series of severe punitive measures which were to be taken against those who would oppose the orthodox faith as it had been just defined by the council: "la foi catholique ayant été proclamée, dit l'empereur, nous estimons juste et utile d enlever à l'avenir tout prétexte aux divisions. En conséquence, quiconque suscitera troubles en public à propos de la foi soit par des rassemblements, soit par des discours, sera sévèrement châtié; si c'est un particulier, on le chassera de la ville impérial; si c'est un officier, il sera cassé; si c'est un clerc, il encourra la déposition, nonobstant d'autres peines civiles."[70]

Presumably, these punitive measures were the immediate legal precedentes of the edicts and orders of Emperors Justin the First and Justinian to exile the Monophysite bishops and monks, among whom was Bishop John of Tella. But the first to suffer from the enforcement of these orders was Dioscorus of Alexandria who was sent into exile to Gangra in Paphlagonia where he died in 454.

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It is proper to note here that Dioscorus was not punished because of his Monophysitic doctrine, but for his vindicative character and certain disciplinary matters.[71]

No sooner had the Council been disbanded, than opposition to its decisions started to arise in the different parts of the Empire except for Rome. The people felt that the Council was a victory for the government party rather than a free decision of the Fathers; for "had Emperor Theodosius lived longer (or had his sister Pulcheria shared his views), the council would not have been held at all."[72] In Alexandria, for instance, Proterius, who was appointed by the Council to succeed the banished Dioscorus as bishop of the city was met with unanimous opposition from the natives, monks, clergy, and laymen alike. He could only stay in office because of imperial support; but finally he was butchered in a mêlée in A.D. 457. In Jerusalem, the monks, instigated by Empress Eudocia, the widow of Theodosius, prohibited Bishop Juvenal from reentering his See upon his return from the Council. Moreover, a local synod declared him deposed from office, and a prominent monk and determined adversary of the Council of Chalcedon was installed in his place.[73] From Constantinople Leo's legate, Bishop Julian of Chios, informed the Pope that more sympathy for Eutyches and Dioscorus was rising in the area around the Capital, in Cappadocia and other places as well.[74]

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At this point we can say that if it is true that Monophysitism was at the beginning a theological doctrine based on a particular philosophical system, it is equally true that other important factors participated in its formation and helped in shaping it, and finally establishing it as an independent church. Among the Copts, for example, there was a strong cultural substratum of Ancient Egypt and they were proud and conscious of it. "Dans la littérature indigène," Jean Maspero writes, "le mot πατρία revient sans cesse, aux ive et et ve siècles, pour désigner tout ce qui est national, sciences, coutumes, religion, opposé aux importations de l'étranger, c'est-à-dire de l'empire grec."[75] For this reason, "Coptic Egypt was solidly behind the Bishops of Alexandria when they were firm, though inclined to desert them if they showed any inclination to compromise."[76] It was then that the Egyptian Church abolished the use of Greek in its services and introduced the native Coptic language. Furthermore, this nationalistic feeling spread even to the rich and land-owners of Egypt who refused to pay their taxes to the Imperial Treasury.

The situation in the Syrian world was not any better. In A.D. 531 the Monophysites rioted, with blood shed, and attacked the patriarchal residence "throwing stones and shouting insults, when a particularly strong imperial edict, prescribing exile for heretics, reached

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Antioch." Similar adverse events had occurred even before this date, when some Monophysite clergy in Emperor Zeno's days "stabbed to death with sharpened reed" the Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch Stephen and threw his body into the Orontes River.[77] Moreover, the Syriac culture was flourishing in those days and all the sciences were taught at a university level in Syriac, first in the School of Edessa and afterward in Nisibis.

There was also a bitter rivalry between the Eastern Sees of Alexandria, Antioch and Constantinople. The See of Alexandria had always enjoyed exceptional privileges, for it was of Apostolic foundation, wealthy and very often presided over by outstanding personalities. When the See of Constantinople, being the capital of the New Rome, sought in the Councils of 381 and of 451 the second rank after that of Old Rome, general indignation arose among the other Sees, particularly Alexandria and Rome, and a silent but strong struggle started between the ambitious heads of those Sees. Nonetheless, the See of Constantinople was predestined to win, simply because it had the imperial support.[78]

There were also at stake, the State's interests which compelled the Emperors to work toward religious unity of the empire. F. Dvornik did an excellent study on the Emperor's concept of his role of Basileus in religious matters and of his obligation to see that the

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Christian dogma was orthodox and enjoying the protection of the State.[79] Good examples of this imperial concern are the eight ecumenical Councils which were called by the Emperors. However this "State-Church ideal" was a horrible thing to the non-Greek nations which counter-attacked it time after time with riots and insurrections which again were suppressed by the imperial forces with much bloodshed. All this added more hatred and alienation in the provinces vis-à-vis Byzantium!

As for the fate of the Monophysites, it was in the hands of the Emperors who were sometimes under the pressure of the Blues' (Venetoi) Party, who were Chalcedonians or of the Greens' (Prasinoi) Party, who were Monophysites.[80] It is true that the Monophysites had many Emperors, like Zeno (474-491) for instance, who for one reason or another sympathized with them or even protected them. These included Anastasius (491-518), and particularly Theodora, the wife of Emperor Justinian (527-548). However, most of the time the Emperors were Chalcedonians and persecuted the Monophysites. It is no wonder then that we hear the famous Syrian Monophysite scholar Bar-Hebraeus say in his Chronicon I, cols. 270-274, that, by Divine Providence, the Arabs delivered the Jacobites from the cruelty of the Greeks! The Syrian Monophysites are also called Jacobites after Bishop Jacob bar Theophilus,

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surnamed "Burdeʿana," who was the true organizer of the Syrian Monophysite Church. He died in A.D. 578.[81]

Besides Syrian and Coptic Monophysites, we must mention the existence of two more Christian bodies which are also Monophysites, namely, the Armenian Orthodox Church,[82] and the Ethiopic Orthodox Church.[83]

Perhaps now, at the conclusion of this historical survey, with its discussion of some of the salient politico-religious interaction of the fifth century, it is possible to understand how the religious split of fifth century Christianity into Monophysitism and Dyophysitism could prove to have been one of the major internal destructive forces that brought about first the disintegration and then the downfall of the Byzantine Empire.

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TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT

(EB.p.31; K.p.3)* THE BIOGRAPHY OF THE VENERABLE AND MOST BLESSED JOHN,[1] BISHOP OF THE CITY OF TELLA,[2] WRITTEN, UPON THE URGING OF CERTAIN MEN OF FORESIGHT, BY ONE WHO LIVED A CONSIDERABLE TIME WITH THE SAINT, FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE MANY LOVERS OF THE TRUTH.

To the spiritual brothers Mār Sergius and Mār Paul,[3] free-born in the truth,[4] and in all ways lovers of Christ, I, Elias,[5] your very devoted servant in the Lord,[6] salutations.

O zealous ones, lovers of Christ and of all good things, I am greatly distressed and embarrassed because there is in me neither the power nor the knowledge to weave for you, as is your due, a wreath of praises for the many virtues with which you are adorned and with which you please God, and because you are the cause of every benefit to those who look at you. This is especially so, because the beneficent memory and

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*References to the Syriac texts are made after the publication of Ernest W. Brooks' edition of Vitae virorum apud monophysitas celeberrimorum: Vita Johannis episcopi Tellae, auctore Elia, in Corpus scriptorum Christianorum orientalium, scriptores Syri, series tertia, XXV. Textus (Paris, 1907), pp.31-95 (hereafter, EB), and that of Hendrik G. Kleyn, Het Leven van Johannes van Tella door Elias (Leiden, 1882), pp.3-83 (hereafter K).

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remembrance of the holy and spiritual fathers is alive in you,[7] and this because, as you have been enlightened by reading the sacred books,[8] you really have known how to imitate the sons of the just of old in their efforts to fill their souls with the spiritual treasures of their fathers' blessings. For they firmly believed that because of the promises of old[9] given to their forefathers, (K.p.4) the divine treasures will be given to them, since they had "set their minds on things above and not on things on earth."[10] Therefore he who can praise you does well, (EB.p.32) for also in this matter, namely, in order to enrich your spirit of the blessing of this spiritual father you emulated the just of old: Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Elijah, and others like them, and particularly because the flame of your love for the holy man, and the chosen confessor, was not put out of your heart by all this time of persecution which was set up as a testing furnace, but rather you strengthened it with more love, as true heirs of the truth. It is fitting that the sons and disciples who have changed sides[11] with the times should be shamed by you and condemned by their own consciences. For the love of power and vain glory they fell from righteousness into the pitfalls of the many deceptive and hurtful desires, which plunge men into ruin and destruction, as it is written,[12] and they brought upon themselves many miseries.[13] With the sharp stones of bitterness and calumny they stoned to death[14] their

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benefactors and those who watched over their souls--I mean[15] their spiritual shepherds and masters--in the hope of pleasing, (K.p.5) for personal gain in this transitory world, those from whom they sought refuge. But for us, you and those like you, who have behaved so wonderfully despite the troubles of living in the midst of this difficult and perverse generation, and whom the Lord--as it is said in the Holy Scriptures and I suitably repeat here--, has let survive[16] to be our consolation, comfort, joy, and crown,[17] mean more than life. Like Lot, you held fast to your faith in the midst of the debauchees[18] because your foundation is firm.[19] You did not backslide from fear, (EB.p.33) but you kept the truth of the Gospel, because your foundations are the Apostles and the Prophets,[20] and you despised all sorts of danger.[21] For at the very peak of temptation you were very much concerned that not only the name of this saint be written for our own benefit and the benefit of those who will come after us, but incited me, I, unworthy as I am, to describe in details, in as much as that is possible, his dedication, his toils and the contest in which he lost his life and received (K.p.6) the crown of martyrdom. Although you thought my humble person capable of accomplishing this task and handing down in writing the memory of the toils of this holy man and spiritual shepherd, from his youth until he left us to go to the Lord, I must confess

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myself unable to do it as it should be done. You remember, O spiritual brothers, that many times you have urged and encouraged me to do this same thing and you are witness that I have replied to you with this parable: "He who wants to build a house or a tower, or to fashion a diadem or a crown that fits the King's head, and, having made ready for him the appropriate fabrics for the making of all that he wanted to fashion, then secretly says--although he does not even know the names of the items or the way they are put together, their juncture or the way they match each other--take it my son, and fashion or sculpt and finish these fabrications which I wanted to do," must (EB.p.34) know that such task belongs only to the skilled. And along with this parable I also said that I was not qualified for what you asked of me. For fear that I might not, from ignorance and inadequate knowledge, do justice to the marvelous story (K.p.7) of this admirable man, I asked that you do it, because, unlike me, you are schooled in Christ's wisdom, you are well read, and you are from the same town as this holy man, so that you would be esteemed worthy by grace to go to that new city where the saint has gone and where all the saints dwell. But you said to me, "Write even a bit of the many things you have told us about this saint's deeds, especially since you lived with this man for some time and you were an eye-witness, in so far as was possible,

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of his divine virtues." And upon your urgent insistance, not wishing to hinder your commendable wish since this history is truly for the benefit of many, I shall do the best I can.[22] Even though I am not as able as I wish,[23] with the help of your prayers I dare to begin. I only ask that whoever reads what is set down here will not consider either the simplicity of the words or those repetitions which may be necessary to the exclusion of those benefits (K.p.8) which might be found by reading with love and not with jealousy.

I shall begin by telling those who do not (EB.p.35) even know from what city this blessed man John who, by God's grace, he deserved to be bishop of the city of Tella,[24] came, and for what reason it called him and he became a monk. I shall tell how old he was when he entered the monastery;[25] the things he, fearing his mother's reaction who otherwise loved Christ, secretely did before he received the tonsure; why I have mentioned his mother's name in his biography; in what monastery he dwelt; who was his spiritual father; and in what sort of labors he was engaged without break or relaxation, from the time he received the tonsure until the end of his life. I shall tell when he was elevated to the episcopal dignity in the city of Tella; what sort of adversities came upon him as soon as he became bishop; with what confidence he returned from the imperial city

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where he had been called by His Victorious Majesty the Emperor along with seven other bishops of his friends; and how subsequently (K.p.9) the orthodox bishops[26] everywhere were expelled from their sees by those who endeavoured to introduce into the Church the Chalcedonian Council as something of their own. I shall tell, too, what this saint did when he saw people taken off violently as captives and forced to make confessions of faith according to the faulty definition of the same Council, and also how, thanks to him, many thousands of people in the land of Persia, which has been darkened (EB.p.36) anew by the impious teaching of Nestorius, the worshipper of man, were converted from the evil error of the worship of the man[27] Christ to knowledge of the truth. I shall tell about the machinations and plots which were carefully designed by Ephraim of Antioch to seize this blessed saint in order to prevent him from continuing his work for the benefit of the Church of Christ--how Ephraim seduced and won over with gifts the pagan Persians and persuaded them to take this man of God from the mountains and deserts where he dwelt among other saints there. I shall talk about how and when he was seized and how many times the heathens and the Magi who had captured him caused him to appear before them; about what (K.p.10) he was asked by means of what in their language is called <u>hanzaman</u>, the Assembly of the

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many Magnates; about how Ephraim afterward summoned him to appear before him in Rîš ʿaina and what in angry dispute, far from all decency and justice, he tried to force him to say; about the sentence passed on him when his judge saw that he would not obey and to where he sent him and his companions under heavy Roman guard; and about the small and narrow prison in Antioch where they locked him up with his companions, I shall mention, too, the behaviour of those appointed to guard him; the kind words he used with those who were constantly discussing with him, and not from fear; the happy (EB.p.37) end to his life in prison; when he died; when he was buried, because of the jealous intervention of his enemies who were not the least appeased even when his corpse was before their very eyes; (K.p.11) and what plan his enemies devised after his death to prevent any popular uprising to snatch away his body or cause civil disorder. And finally, I shall describe how, at the very time of his death, he was praying for all the sons of the Holy Church, especially for those who hated him so much merely for the sake of hatred.

However, before I begin to satisfy the mind thirsty to hear the beginning and the end of all which I have promised to narrate to you, O you who love Christ in every way, let me not be blamed by those who will hear these things read as "being of little value, lacking in

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eloquence and order," and say "that this must be written before that, or that before this," or "this should be otherwise," or "this is unnecessary," or "that should be this way," or finally "how did the writer who wrote all these things he was telling for quite a while about this saint know about them, since he had not yet known this blessed man?" You remember that from the very beginning I have said that I, myself, am not qualified for all this which you have asked me to do. As for the events which I have promised to hand down in this biography, part I have seen with my own eyes, part I have heard from his masters, and part (K.p.12) I heard on one occasion from his own mouth when, stricken (EB.p.38) by temptation, he was recalling the peace and tranquility of his life after he had become a monk. I have heard about some events from his mother, but most of them I have seen with my own eyes, as I have said before.[28]

It is necessary, I suppose, to say from what city he was, because there are many who do not know and want to be informed. This saint was from the city of Callinicus.[29] May we say also that notable people deserving God's mercy lived in this city: they were philanthropists, believers, chaste, wise, benefactors, hospitable,[30] generous, and lovers of the doctrine of the Spirit.[31] The just ones who lived in Callinicus loved each other like those[32] born of the same father and mother! Should

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someone dare to say, "If some of its inhabitants are so adorned with virtue, why then was it struck by the Assyrian's rod?"[33] then, as a believer, let him hear the Holy Scriptures which say, "For the Lord disciplines him whom He loves and He chastises the sons in whom He takes pleasure";[34] "If you are left without the discipline in which everyone is corrected,[35] (K.p.13) then you become aliens[36] and not sons"; "Correct me, O Lord, with mercy[37] and not with anger, lest thou bring me to nought"; "Thy rod and they staff console me";[38] "Blessed is the man whom thou dost chasten, O Lord";[39] "The judgements of the Lord are (EB.p.39) like the great deep";[40] and "Who can blame Him and say to Him 'What doest thou?'"[41] It is indeed true that the just ones suffer when the wicked are punished. Let him hear the prophet saying to Jerusalem, from the mouth of the Spirit of God who spoke by him, "I will draw forth my sword out of its sheath; and I shall exterminate in thee both the righteous and the wicked."[42] These sayings are enough against those who hasten to pronounce vain and foolish words, who hope that, because of their uprightness, they are safe from the punishment which, justly, shall come upon the others.

Let me begin now from where I digressed. So then, from this city, as I previously have said, was this saint and from its nobility. He was two and a half years old when he was left an orphan by his father. His mother

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remained a widow for fifty years. She lived three and a half years with her husband, and after (K.p.14) her husband died she served the Lord day and night in fasting and prayer,[43] with great abstinence, tears, and suffering. Her young child, as he himself told, was brought up by her and by his grandfathers, with every care, attention, and diligence with regard to his soul and to his body as well. They educated him in the literature and philosophy of the Greeks, and when he was twenty years old they caused him to work in the Palace of the duke of the city, in order to be educated and trained. He was dressed with (EB.p.40) beautiful garments as befitted his office and a variety of food was prepared for him with all care. Still he did not become corrupted or greedy; and they appointed for him a tutor, one who really feared God, to guide him.[44] Meanwhile his mother, of blessed memory, was concerned to educate her son in every good thing and in all honest ways. She would not be for him a cause of scandal in any thing, nor would she be found a cause of disgraceful sin--the deed of the devil. Rather, she wished to see and rejoice in the good things that careful parents in right and justice do for their children in their proper time, according to the wonderful laws which the Creator has ordained for us (K.p.15) and according to the tradition which we have received from the Sacred Books. In all conscience she betrothed him

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to a woman, and in gladness of heart prepared to make for him a great and expensive wedding feast.

But while these preparations were being made, Divine Providence watched them all in secret and let them be done so that, finally, it would become apparent to many people that love for Christ had, since his youth, taken a stronger hold on him than love for this world. He put before his eyes, as on a pair of scales, the two loves, comparing one with the other. Thereupon he entered a period of trial and struggle with his thoughts as to which one of the two beauties and pleasures would remain unchanged and uncorrupted, the transitory or the permanent one, the divine or the human, the heavenly possessions and wealth or those which are here on earth (EB.p.41) which in time and like time will vanish, although sometimes they last for a little while. But there will come a moment when they will be carried away--like a shadow and like a dream they shall disappear. Because his mind was enflamed by the spirit and the fire which our Saviour has lit in the world was burning in his soul,[45] the strength of his spirit did not falter, nor did the care for a wife, for children and for the possessions of this world (K.p.16) excite him. Hope in them and their remembrance (of him) did not prevail in his mind over the thought of God,[46] of the promises to come, of the real life in Him, or over the recognition of His fearful judgments

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and the punishment of the wicked and the vengeance that should be taken on evil-doers in the fire's flame.[47] So, while his mother was concerned with the details, he was silent and quiet, wrestling with his thoughts, which were now springing up, now vanishing away, to see which of them would have the victory for which he was fighting. He called God to help him and he said, "Show me, O Lord, thy way so that I may walk in it."[48] "How can[49] a young man keep his way pure to observe thy commandments?"[50] "By the mouth of your prophet you proclaimed happy whoever has born thy yoke in his youth."[51] And he put in his mind this thought, saying, "Unless I completely escape from the world I shall not be delivered from sin." At once he fled to a holy man who had shut himself in a cell a short distance from Sûrā of the Romans[52] and whose name was Abgār--a saint, just, and of great and divine labors. John's purpose was to receive his blessing, to be in his company, and to reveal secretly to him his determination.[53] When his mother--out of her mind because her son had gone from her sight--knew where he had gone, she arose (K.p.17) quickly with her servants and maidens and went after him. And (EB.p.42) when she brought him back to her home the saint obeyed his mother, respectfully and prudently, yet he was determined to leave her and, without causing her sorrow, return to the monastery. Thus it was for five years.[54] And when his mother

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said to him, "You can please God and still stay in the world, as these or those people, who still were well off and possessors of wealth in the world, did please Him," he said to her, "It belongs to the strong ones, Mother, to do perfect justice to the two things when they render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's,[55] and to live[56] in this world like the upright fathers and the just men whose names you mentioned to me. But I, myself, cannot please God and yet be entangled with the world's affairs."[57]

On a certain day he picked up the book of the Life of the Blessed Thecla,[58] the one who was Saint Paul's disciple, and read in it. Since he was a chosen vessel (K.p.18), unlike the other young men of his age who did not accept the discipline, he was not struck by the burning arrows of Evil, nor was he involved in the passions of the world. Because he was preserved by God's grace and by his parents' vigilance, the love of Christ started with vigor in his soul. Immediately he took the book of the blessed Apostle and started to read it diligently, and like the blessed Thecla, he became the disciple of the holy Apostle.

(EB.p.43) He built for himself in his house a little upper chamber[59] in which he stayed constantly alone except for his tutor. And they made a pact with each other not to let his mother learn his thoughts and what he was

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doing.[60] He refrained from eating meat and from drinking wine, and his tutor used to eat the food that was brought to him. And from one evening until the next was well advanced he would eat but a parched piece of bread. Later, he ate but one meal every other day. Still no one had detected so far the secret that was between them. When the tutor sat to enjoy the food which they had brought up to the saint in the evening, as the tutor himself narrated it to us, then the saint, bent like a hook, with his hands bound together on his back and the hair of his head resting (K.p.19) on the floor, would proceed to perform his prostrations.[61] He would remain in this state until late in the evening, and afterward he would throw himself on the floor and sleep for a little while. He also learned the Psalms in Syriac and both of them would recite together--for his tutor had learned them along with him.[62] And when his mother, of blessed memory, saw that the color of her son's face and the brightness of his youth had changed, she asked his tutor, "What sort of sign is this which I see in my son, that he looks sad so much?" To calm her, at least with a word, he said to her, "Because he remains up until late at night reading." And she was happy[63] that he was drilling in the reading of foreign languages and the arts, but he really cared only for what was really useful to him. At night he labored (EB.p.44) in this way, and during the day he

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visited the holy men who were reclused around the city and each one of them planted a spiritual benefit in his heart. And once, one of them said to him, "Remember, John, that you are going to die. Do not seek to be like the rest of the delicate, lofty, and overbearing young men who do not remember that for dung and for worms is their pride!" The saint said to him, "What should I do, my lord?" He said to him, "shave off your hair, become a monk, and escape (K.p.20) from the world before death takes you by surprise. 'For all that is in the world is the lust of the flesh and the lust of the eyes and the pride of life.[64] And the world and its lust will pass away.'"[65] This is what his tutor told us, and John heard it from the mouth of that saint like the "thirsty and weary land that seeks water."[66] He heard the blessed Apostle Paul, who loved his Master more than anything else, saying among many other things the following: "I appeal to you, brethren, to present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God with spiritual worship. Do not conform to this world but be transformed by the renewal of your minds."[67] Also, "No soldier in service gets entangled in civilian pursuits, to please the one who enlisted him."[68] John listened carefully to what was told to Timothy, "So shun youthful passions."[69] And again, "Those who belong to Christ have crucified their flesh with all its passions and

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desires."[70] He was encouraged by all this which he learned (EB.p.45) from the sacred readings and he was happy and joyful, and he proceeded further. Thenceforward he decided (K.p.21) to be tonsured and become a monk. But when his mother knew of these things, being a widow she was very sad,[71] for then she would be bereft of both husband and heir: her son who was her consolation and the light of her eyes. She sought, therefore, by every means she could, to prevent him from making this decision.[72] These things happened through the will of Divine Providence to test him, for the benefit of those many others who are conquered by the mere illusions of the dreams. So he fled to the saints of different places and he listened to their counsels and examples of godliness. He was twenty-five years old at this time, and without further delay he escaped to the holy monastery of that city called the House of Mār Zaḫḫay and he became a monk there.[73] When his mother heard about this, she did what all mothers who are deprived of such excellent children would do: she responded with crying, sadness, and bewailing. But finally --thanks to the divine grace which visited her also, because she was a true widow and had put her faith in God[74]--(K.p.22) she conformed her will to her son's will in everything.[75] In mutual agreement they freed all their slaves and their maidens and they distributed much of their possessions to the poor, the saints, and the widows.

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(EB.p.46) The name of his spiritual father was John, and the many who were acquainted with this saint knew with how many spiritual graces this old man was adorned, how rich he was in the fear of God, in humility, and in prudence. The decorum of holiness was cast on his face, and, in short, I may say that while this saint was with us in this earthly life,[76] he was dead to the world and lived only for God.[77] Since I cannot cope with the story of this humble man, I pass on to that of his disciple. As soon as this master admitted and tonsured this saint,[78] John of Tella begged him to give him a small cell in the monastery, so that he might remain quiet in it at the proper hours of silence.[79] And because this wonderful elder knew that the request of the disciple was agreeable to God, he granted him what he had asked. And John permanently stayed in it, applying himself to the practice of virtue, to the reading of the Sacred Books, to continuous worship, to much fasting, to weeping and tears. He abstained from bread (K.p.23) and wine and oil, and he ate only boiled vegetables and herbs befitting those who fast, while keeping three and four vigils and sometimes even more. He got for himself a small bowl that could contain two small cups, and he would eat only that much, or one ounce of dried fruit, when he refrained from eating boiled food. Also he drank water or oxymel[80] in a small cup. Because Christ's Passion was put constantly before

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his eyes, even (EB.p.47) the pleasure of the taste of the food was not noted by him. How do we know this?[81] We know from the fact that whenever we watched him eating--with his bowl on his knees for these[82] were very often indeed used as his table--frequently we saw that he mixed his food with tears. He did so only when he ate alone. Sometimes he would leave his small meal and depart from the table as soon as (K.p.24) his inmates were about to begin their meals, being usually the first to leave.[83] Moreover, whenever saintly pilgrims visited him, with all generosity and gladness he had them sit at his table; their eating and drinking gladdened him as much as if it were put into his own stomach. He firmly fixed in his soul some of the virtues, manners, and examples he learned from the saints, the upright, the chaste, the virgins, the monks and the hermits whose lives he read constantly. Even after he was made bishop he increased his austerities: he was in prayer, in silent tears, in ascetic exercises and in weeping from midnight until daybreak, when no one could hear his sighing. (EB.p.48) When he was at worship, if someone dared to look at him for help, he could see him[84] looking with much affliction to the heavens, shedding abundant tears.[85] The floor and a mat were his bed; a sheepskin and a pillow[86] were his pads. (K.p.25) His cloth was of hair and his belt was a girth; his shoes were sandals and a cloak was his coat. When he

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was not busy with useful spiritual work, then from the morning service until the third hour of the day[87] he spent in humble prayer. Afterward he read the Holy Scriptures or the Holy Fathers. And after he had worshipped and finished the midday service[88] he prayed similarly until the None and again he kept constantly at the sacred reading, so that not even one hour would be spent in vain. In every way he was modest and disciplined; even his steps were rythmic as if regulated by measurement. Never were his beholders tired of looking at him, his stature and his face. Let no one blame me for talking of his physical beauty as well as his spiritual beauty, since we find that even the Holy Scriptures spoke of the physical beauty of the just men and of that of others as well, such as is said of David by the Holy Spirit, "He was ruddy, his eyes were beautiful and his appearance was handsome," and the Lord (K.p.26) was with him. And also about the great Moses it is written as follows, (EB.p.49) "His parents saw that the child was beautiful," and the blessed Apostle narrated it in his letter to the Hebrews.[89] Also the Holy Scriptures mention the appearance and the beauty of the bodies of many others. John's speech was humble and sweet. Moreover, since he was a spiritual shepherd and an administrator of the Holy Church, he was eager to know and to ask everyone about the things that mattered.[90]

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And, when he was reading in the Holy Scriptures, he did so[91] with great humility and wisdom.

His body was worn out and exhausted from austerities to such a point that all his joints could be seen and his belt[92] could hardly stay on his hips. While he was dwelling in the mountains, in the wilderness, and in caves among the saints who were living there, he endured with much patience the scorching of the heat and the harshness of the cold. He shielded his eyes[93] with a great and strong wall so that, even when chaste women were sitting at his feet to hear his beneficent words,[94] he did not look at the face of one of them, but with his eyes cast down at the floor and bearing in mind the ambushes (K.p.27) and shrewdness of the Devil, he spoke wise words to benefit them. Whenever he heard from someone mention of the saints and the perfection of their ascetic ways of life, his soul longed to see them, to compete with their asceticism, and to be blessed by them. In addition he honored, magnified, loved, and venerated those who had attained extreme old age.

(EB.p.50) At the time he was made bishop, there was heavy persecution of the Church of Christ by those who reigned after the death of the blessed Emperor Anastasius.[95] They required of all priests the acceptance of the Council of Chalcedon, its definition, and that addition made in it against the truth. Just at that difficult time the

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bishop of the city of Tella departed and John was called to the episcopate by the synod of the holy bishops of the same province, because word of the perfection of his life had reached them.[96] When he saw that they were determined to make him bishop, he begged them to excuse him,[97] but seeing that they were not persuaded by him, he thought, "Now, therefore, I must escape. I am convinced, indeed, that he who is the leader (K.p.28) of many, if he be not really strong, can hardly escape from either evil passions or from their consequences. Vainglory easily corrupts the soul of such a man with sin and his body with that death sought by his enemies. He tries to please those who are under his direction by constantly doing what placates them but is displeasing to God and against His Holy Commandments. He tries not to be hated by them, because he is stricken by the evil plague of vainglory or because the flatterers and the adulators who are always with him shrewdly suggest that they feel his sorrow (EB.p.51) as though they were he, and say to him, 'You cannot stand this trouble and hardship.' They say these things to him in accordance with what they covet,[99] careful in doing so to find a way[100] to trap him and cause him first to step down from his monastic rule and ascetic life. Afterward they pretend[101] to be concerned[102] about the properties of the Church that are being badly administered, so that they cause him to be

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angry, irascible, stirred up, quarrelsome, and greedy, to love money (K.p.29) and hate people, or to be a madman[103] of no judgment or discernment, profane[104] and slack, a lover of corporal pleasures and his body more than his soul, neglecting[105] opportunities that bring profit to the soul for the sake of trivial, vulgar, and common undertakings. Because of all this he sinks into the deep abyss, where there is no foot-hold.[106] Because he behaved to please man only, should the war of the heretics break out against the Church, then he would be ashamed of his little faith and it would have been better for such a one not to have been born, not to have entered into this world. Oh what sort of harmful and hurtful things he acquired for himself! He who is head in the Church of God 'must be blameless'[107] and 'guiltless'[108] in everything, as the steward of the house of God[109] who shall give account of his flock on the day when God shall require the secrets of men.[110] He must walk[111] in the footsteps of God and he must[112] be in the world in the same way He was.[113] Let him hear the blessed Apostle[114] saying, 'Be imitators of me as I am of Christ.'[115] (EB.p.52) He who is made head and pastor of the Church of God must be like a pillar of fire. (K.p.30) There should be[116] in his behaviour nothing dark or shadowy whatsoever. He should not be as master of the flock but as a good example to all men,

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especially to the believers, willing to give up his life for them.[117] He should persevere in the face of difficulties until the last breath of life, as Christ Himself gave His life to voluntary death for them.[118] He must avoid all desires that make war against the soul,[119] he must be pudic and self-disciplined, upright, learned and of long-lasting patience,[120] 'neither quick tempered nor a drunkard,'[121] according to the commandment of the blessed Apostle. He also must be a chaste and just man, zealous for the word of God. He must be holy and self-contained from the passions so that he may not be stranger in anything to the commandments of the Holy Gospel and the instructions of the blessed Apostle to Titus and Timothy, who truly deserved this great gift. Whoever is confident of his ability to imitate them is to be commended for seeking this order of episcopacy. Through it souls that are bought by the blood of God are entrusted to him--those that are ransomed by the Passion and by the death of God and not by corruptible silver or by irrational animals.[122] What sort of punishment would God give to the shepherd who takes charge of this flock, (K.p.31) should any of this world's pleasures take hold of him and from negligence the soul of one sheep from his flock (EB.p.53) should perish?" And when he had brought together these thoughts and many others of the same sort,[123] put them clearly before the

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eyes of his soul and considered the sublimity of these heavenly things, the deep, shameful degradation and severe punishment that would come upon those who loved life's pleasures better than the promises to come, then at once John arose with a certain holy elder, his roommate Damian (who really deserved to be his roommate) and at the cock's crow they both escaped from the bishopric palace of Edessa, despite supposedly being guarded with great precaution by three bishops until Sunday should come--the day when, according to canonical law, he who was to be bishop would be ordained.[124] When the man was sought and they saw that he had run away--a sign of an election befitting God's servants--all the assembled bishops, who were anticipating enjoying this happy event, became very sad and grieved. Then one of the holy men, Jacob the Doctor, bishop of Baṭnān,[125] said to them, "Do not be disturbed, my brethren. I shall go in (K.p.32) search of him and I trust in God that, if it please Him,[126] I shall find this man whom your Holinesses has chosen to become a bishop." He arose at once, prayed, and set out straightforward on the road on which the blessed John and his companion had gone.[127] He found him more or less a mile from the city, hidden between two rocks. (EB.p.54) Then with grief John begged him saying, "I ask you, Sir, please have mercy on me," and many other things that would support his excuse. But his holiness Bishop Jacob

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said to him, "At this very time when the Holy Church is persecuted and men able to fight against her enemies are being sought, can her ministers show withdrawal and escape? If she /the Church/ is good, why then do you flee from her, but if she is evil then tell us so that we too might escape like you!" Weeping in all humility, John said to him, "Please, My Doctor, leave me alone as I have begged. For this ministry is for valiant persons like you." While they were talking to each other many people came, surrounded him, and took him to the Church. After they had all begged him, admonished him, and encouraged him with many kind words, they brought him forth to the episcopal ordination.[128] Then (K.p.33) they led him out and took him to Tella, the place where the Grace of God had called him, and they enthroned him on the episcopal throne of that city.[129] After each of the blessed bishops had returned to his see, John, the saint, gathered all the nobles and all the venerable clergy of the Church and spoke to them words of admonition, of concord, and of unity of will. Because, in fact, the holy churches of the East were at that time as boats tossed in every direction in the midst of the sea by the vehemence of severe winds. He heard some people, those attached to material things, who shunned and despised (EB.p.55) spiritual things, saying, "If the imperial edict should also come here requiring that we accept the

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Council of Chalcedon, then we would easily[130] persuade him to accept it, since this is nothing. There are none who can really stand against the imperial order!"[131] But he showed them from the very beginning his determination and strength of spirit and, reminding them of the sort of afflictions, oppression, persecutions and the different sorts of death the Catholic Church suffered, first from the heathens, and afterward from the many heretics, he said to them, "'Let it be to you one soul and one mind,'[132] and, 'be ready and prepared[133] to bear up under the oppressions for Christ,' and 'let not the tribulations discourage you!'"[134] (K.p.34) And, as they all were praising God and giving Him thanks for the sort of shepherd He had sent them, he also narrated to them the whole story of the Council of Chalcedon.[135] Once they had condemned it, its dogmatic definition and addition,[136] the Tome of Pope Leo of Rome,[137] and had excommunicated those who had wrought all that damage,[138] then he said to them, "Bring me the diptychs."[139] And they brought them to him. When he found written therein the name of Sophronius, the bishop of the same city, who was one of those who defended the Council of Chalcedon,[140] he ordered this name as well as the names of other people of his faction[141] to be stricken off. Immediately those who held to the error were beset by fear, as well as those who were merely serving the pleasures of the flesh. One of the nobles of the city, whose name was Paul, on behalf

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of many others, said to him, "That is improper, Lord Bishop! There is an emperor and it is by his order that this Council came here." (The intentions[142] of that man were not sincere.) The saint looked at him with anger and said, (EB.p.56) "Did you not hear all these things which I have mentioned so far?"[143] He ordered him taken from his sight,[144] saying to him as follows: "You wanted us (K.p.35) to offend God and please men. You all judge without discrimination. Should the names of those who have perpetrated by words and deeds the things which I have narrated to you be mentioned on the holy altars? 'We must obey God rather than men.'"[145] And at once and without delay they were erased [from the dyptychs], while all the congregation[146] gave him thanks. That and many other things he fearlessly did for the peace and for the moral standards[147] of the city, so that it would not become riotous, but be chaste and self-disciplined.[148] Shortly after that very time the city went wild, burning with lust at the impudicity of a show of dancers.[149] He almost died from hard work, seeking to dispel the malignant disease of that sort of madness and, with God's help, he quickly extinguished the flame which Satan had kindled in them. When they awoke from their wine, so to speak, and realized that he was laboring and struggling just for the salvation of their souls, then they thanked

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and praised God for visiting them in the person of the shepherd that His Grace had given to them.

While all these things were happening, the persecution of the churches had not yet spread (K.p.36) to the east of the Euphrates. But when he had completed only about two years in his see, an order was dispatched here also, to the East, saying, "The bishops who do not agree (EB.p.57) that the Council of Chalcedon be proclaimed in their churches shall be expelled from their sees."[150] Without delay this saint, John, also left his see because he saw that he could not otherwise stay, if he would not accept what was decreed. As it is written of Moses, he chose to share ill treatment with the people of God rather than to enjoy himself for a short time in sin.[151] From desire for presidency,[152] he would have had to share in the excommunications which, for reasons of guilt, are made by the holy fathers, as some, loving earthly pleasures more than God, have done. He left without taking any material thing from the city, and another bishop from the opposition took over.[153] And so it happened in most of the cities--false shepherds for true, the rapacious for the peaceful, heretics for orthodox bishops. Like merciless wild animals they fell upon the flock of Christ and, with all sorts of tribulation and torment, they forcefully subjugated most of the people.[154] From everywhere and from every mouth (K.p.37) sounds of

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wailing were heard, goods and possessions were mercilessly plundered, and the people were taken captive through force and injustice by the enemy's faction. Some people hid from persecution in the mountains, in the tombs, in the caves and caverns of the earth, while the heretics tormented with exile and with dark and narrow dungeons[155] those who persevered in their (EB.p.58) true belief and did not submit to their revolutionary and tyrannic bondage. Infants were left long unbaptized for fear of the persecutors, and there were many other evils perpetrated which exceeded the narrations of the writers. In the midst of these troubles, this man of God, after he had moved out of his city, went into seclusion in a certain part of the wilderness, in penance and prayer as was his custom. But when the necessity of accounting to God (who would demand from him an account of the talent which He had entrusted to him) became clear to him he arose and began an admirable work, remembering what he had been charged in the person of Simon by the Lord, who said, "Feed for me, my sheep, and my lambs and my ewes;"[156] and also these words from the blessed Apostle /Paul/ to Timothy, "Bear up the suffering for the Gospel (K.p.38) in the power of God;"[157] and, "Suffer the evil things as a good soldier of Jesus Christ;"[158] also, "Do your best to present yourself as one approved, a workman who has no need to be ashamed, rightly handling

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the word of truth;"[159] and again, "Do the work of an evangelist."[160] This same saint John was encouraged by these thoughts and by the power of God and disregarded himself, the threats of the kings, and the menaces of the princes. In truth he did the work of an evangelist, as I have said previously. When many people saw the strength of his spirit and his manly zeal, they hastened to him from everywhere--from the villages and from the cities. They came to the wilderness, where his meeting place was, and he ordained (EB.p.59) priests for the churches and the monasteries, with all scrutiny, thorough investigation and full care,[161] for he had received letters of authorization from the holy Patriarch Severus and from the bishops and archbishops who were fleeing to distant places, allowing him to ordain priests for their cities and for their territories,[162] and thus he saved many people from receiving the Communion of the heretics.[163]

When the Emperor heard all these things he sent for him and for his companions, the blessed bishops. They were eight in number, (K.p.39) those who were ordered to go [to Constantinople] so that he might ask them about their beliefs. He found them standing firm (in the true belief) and unwilling to submit themselves to his own belief;[164] and since they had come provided with a safe-conduct,[165] the Emperor only

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threatened them, charging them not to perform any sacerdotal function for those who did not follow him. But the saint said to him time and again, "It is more proper to obey God rather than men."[166] Yet the Royal Couple,[167] through their curator, were most eager to have him accept a gift from them, but they did not succeed,[168] because he said to them,[169] "How shall I accept from them their material present, while they do not accept from us the true and spiritual one." In short, neither from the Royal Couple nor from anyone else, (EB.p.60) did he accept a single thing. Instead, he and his companions (whose opinion agreed with his own) lived in poverty on the little sum he had which his mother had given him when he was going up; yet he took nothing from anyone, either of copper, or silver, or gold, (K.p.40) which they brought to him, neither he himself personally nor through any other man,[170] neither secretly nor openly, nor did he accept any of the many things which the King offered to win them to his side.[171] Afterward the Emperor dismissed them and they returned to their dwelling places. And after he returned, this blessed John particularly increased his efforts to gather the Church together and to deliver her from the Diophysite heresy.

The faithful people in the land of Persia (who were few in number) heard of his strength and his noble

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achievements and they held a council[172] to send a delegation unto him and unto the blessed and deserving holy Mār Thomas, bishop of Dârâ,[173] for he also was rich in divine virtues[174] like those of John. He was a learned man, conversant with the divine as well as with the human sciences. They asked them to send them bishops who could fight valiantly for the true belief, which was almost dead (EB.p.61) there through the error of the wretched Nestorius,[175] the worshipper of man. And that (K.p.41) was accomplished before these blessed men had gone to the imperial city. Because they knew that this matter was acceptable to God they consented to it gladly, and those from that region who were qualified were sent for. With the approval and agreement of these two holy men and that of their Holinesses Mār Sergius of Cyrrhos,[176] Mār Marion of Sûrâ,[177] and Mār Nunnus of Circusius,[178] those who had been sent for were consecrated bishops[179] and returned to their region with joy. And many people and many districts returned to the true belief. Some of those who were made bishops in that region died martyrs for Christ by the action of the heretics and that of the heathens; others, while laboring for the truth, ended their lives in far distant places. Some time after the death of these saints, whose names are written above, [Sergius, Marion and Nunnus], when few bishops were left in that region [Persia]--some

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being locked in jails for adhering to the truth (K.p.42) --some of the orthodox bishops who were in that region of the East,[180] brought along with them other persons and came again to this holy John while he was living in the mountains with the hermits. They requested that these persons be made bishops for them (EB.p.62) to replace those who had died as martyrs for Christ,[181] and, since all were agreed on this matter, they promoted to the episcopacy those who had been brought.

My intention in narrating all that I have, and in including in this story the deeds of those saints who had come twice from distant places[182] to this saint, John, and what he did for the edification of the Church, has been to show the sorts of miracles God accomplished in such distant places through the hands of this man and the number of believers converted through him. The error was uprooted in the persons of its upholders![183] and, lo! today thousands of peoples (those who escaped from the poisonous serpent, the wicked Nestorius), praise God sincerely and truly. It would take too long to report about those troubles he had to fight off because of the schism originated by those who adhered to the phantasmagoric doctrine of Julianus, (K.p.43) formerly bishop of Halicarnassus.[184] By writing everywhere continually, warning, advising, and teaching from the Holy Scriptures and from the teachings of the

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spiritual Fathers[185] that they should flee from the error of the "phantasiast" Julianus and from his strange doctrine and, with God's help, he saved many people from the error of this wretched one. Nor is there time to talk about those letters[186] which, for the sake of the faith, he kept sending to all places being swept by the teaching, or rather the plague, of this senseless one. (EB.p.63) He wrote especially to Munzir's Camp where had come to rest the campaign[187] of this man who denied the voluntary, natural, real, salutary and unblemished sufferings which were experienced in the flesh by our Master and God, Jesus Christ for there,[188] indeed, the Manichean heresies[189] of this enemy of our Saviour and contender against the blessed Fathers had settled, penetrated and invaded the hearts of the Ṭayayts.[190] These deeds and others similar to them Divine Providence accomplished through his hands. At that time one might say that the Diophysites had few followers, for the true Church of God was being built up, (K.p.44) magnified, and increased in the true religion. As from an awesome captivity, the people were fleeing from the oppressors' subjugation, for they had seen this true shepherd who, with the sole purpose of upholding the truth, was working so hard despite the many trials.

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Oh, the sort of words of advice he gave to those who came to him with the intention of becoming priests![191] They deserve to be written down for those who would gladly hear them. But so that this story will not take too long[192] or tire one who is easily bored, I shall mention only a few things of the many he poured out to them (EB.p.64) from the doctrine of the blessed Apostle ⌈Paul⌋. "'Serve your Lord'....'Be aglow with the Spirit.'[193] 'Be constant in prayer; be patient in your tribulations.'[194] 'Hate what is evil and hold fast to what is good.'[195] 'Make no provision for your flesh to gratify its desires';[196] 'for you are fellow workers for God.'[197] 'Never put an obstacle in anyone's way, so that no fault may be found with our ministry.'[198] 'Let no evil talk come out of your mouth, (K.p.45) but only what is good and edifying.'[199] 'Do nothing through contention or conceit,'[200] but 'Set the believers an example in speech and conduct, in love, in faith, and in purity.'[201] 'Show in these things that you are Christ's servants and true priests and as if 'Christ was portrayed before your eyes as truly crucified.'"[202] "Be in this temporal world from now on according to the blessed Apostle's command, 'now that you are made new men and soldiers of Jesus Christ,'[203] ⌈act⌋ not in drunkeness, nor in reveling, not in debauchery nor in food's gluttony that weighs down the soul, the body, and the

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mind, but hold steadfast to the doctrine you have learned and to the divine confessions which you have professed before us." He used to say[204] to them these and many other such wonderful things[205] before promoting them to the sacerdotal ordination. Moreover, when he said Mass by himself, as indeed he very often did, one was amazed and astonished, because, for a long time--sometimes four hours (EB.p.65) or more--he remained in prayer, now moaning and now supplicating in pain and in profuse tears before the Holy Altar and before the spiritual Mysteries, until the foundations of the altar, so to speak, were soaked with his tears, while as was his custom he stood bent over,[206] in great silence. Afterward he would proceed to say Mass in the customary way.[207] When he celebrated it before the people he did only what was suitable and required ⌜for the sacred occasion.⌟

While these things, for the edification and the correction of the Church, were being accomplished through the efforts of this man ⌜John⌟, Ephraim, Patriarch of Antioch, saw the admirable deeds of this holy man and, from jealousy, he became exercised about reducing them to nought.[208] But when he saw[209] that he could not hope to conquer those who had rebelled against his forceful subjugation (that is to say, against his Diophysite heresy), unless this saint were arrested and thrown into

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prison, or sent to a far distant exile, and thus reduced to silence,--but how, after all, can one[210] extinguish and destroy such a good thing, unless he stoops to his evil desires?[211]--, having informed the Emperor of his astute plan and what he would do when he went down,[212] he then asked his permission. The Emperor gave him the power (K.p.47) which he had asked for and a Roman Army and he went down to the East. Then, with such tremendous power, he forcefully subjugated many people to his will in just a few days. And, to be able to seal off completely (Eb.p.66) the beneficent spring, he concocted schemes, found some people willing to serve his desire and sent them to the Marzban[213] of the Persian Nisībīs.[214] Having promised him a tempting bribe, he asked him through them diligently to send his own soldiers along with the Romans so that this blessed man, outstanding in the victories of the Spirit, might be caught in the mountains called Sinjār. (It was there this saint had moved for a haven in that difficult time.) Those who were sent to him by Ephraim told the pagan Marzban many lies against the same man and they told him that he would find much gold; and the pagan was inflamed by greed. The name of the Marzban was Mihrdaden, and he sent many cavalrymen with one of his officers, also a pagan. So, Persians, Cadusians, and some Romans reached the mountain, accompanied by some Roman and Persian scouts (K.p.48) who knew

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the area and also by the one who was sent by Ephraim to accomplish this deed. He was from Camp Beth-Balaš and he was what is called in the Antiochean territory "the brigand's strangler."[215] His name was Comitas. The Lord has requited him, even in this world, for some of what he justly deserves! This one, before he went to Nisībīs first went down to Ḥarrān. He inquired of and then visited a man said (EB.p.67) to be a pagan priest. (Only God knows what Comitas did there!) However, he took along with him the son of the so-called priest, who had on the sign of a physician.[216] This one himself told us on one occasion, "We had killed an ox in our home before we came to you." When they arrived at the mountain where this saint was dwelling,[217] he and all the Romans and Persians who had been sent there, after inquiring, went to a monk who lived on the outskirts of the mountain (he was of the confession of those phantasmagoric Julianists).[218] They found that he was definitely of the opposite party, so they revealed their secret to him and also promised him a gift. He brought them at midnight to the mountain place where this saint was, (K.p.49) showed them a little cell in which this athlete of Christ[219] was dwelling, and he left. Then, with swords drawn and bows pulled out in the fashion of the Assyrians, they descended upon him like wild animals. There was deep snow there, and giant columns of ice were

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in the cavern in which this tested one[220] lived. The Lord made them temporarily blind so that they would not find him at once, for, if they had found him immediately after they had entered and had taken him out, he could have died that same night from the severe cold. They arrested those men who lived in the company of this saint and they pressed them so mercilessly in order to say whom of them was the one they were seeking among them and to tell where he was. One of those arrested (EB.p.68) told them deceitfully that he was the one they sought, even changing his name, saying to them, "My name is John," so that perhaps through this ruse he could save this saint from the hands of the oppressors. But they were all night long in this strife and, since they did not find the one of whom they had only heard, because of his fair and nice appearance, they took off those who were arrested one by one and they were beaten up (K.p.50) by the Romans with forked and split sticks[221] like criminals. But none of them revealed where John was. He indeed had not left his cell at all because they had appeared so suddenly. At dawn they found him and brought him out. When the "Comes"[222] of the Persians saw him he reclined on the floor, had the blessed man stand before him and started to talk angrily to him through an interpreter, saying: "O you who deserve an evil death, what are you doing here? If you were not a wicked

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man, you would not dwell in the empty and terrible mountains and among the lions and the wild boars! Why do you rebel against your masters? I am going to burn this entire mountain and destroy those who dwell in it and then I will depart."

The Assyrian[223] boastfully delivered a long tirade to him. But the oppressed one, standing before him in all humility as was his habit, began to speak as follows: "Either you will allow me to talk, or I shall remain silent and you may do whatever you want." And he answered him, "Say quickly whatever you have to say." Then John said to him, "Be wise; (EB.p.69) inquire and see. None of what[224] you have said against me is true. Let it be known to your Lordship that even if those who have brought you here were to say honestly what they think of me, they would say that neither I nor those saints who have lived on this mountain for lo! so many years, (K.p.51) are as you have said." Immediately the wicked Comitas drew near and kissed the Comes on his head and said to him, "By your life, my Lord, order him to sit down; these things are not in him." The Comes drew his sword and stood up as if to strike him and said in anger, "How was it that you lied to us and reported many evil things before the Marzban against this man?" Then he gave orders to those who were with him and the entire cell in which the blessed man was living was searched, but they found

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nothing that they were told to find. Then they swiftly arose and took him away, making him descend the mountain on a beast of burden that was with them. It was the new moon[225] of Šebōt.[226]

From the third hour of the day until midnight they pressed on, on horseback, across a desert in the snow and ice, without a road, while nothing to eat had yet been given to the saint. The Marzban had ordered them to bring the man to Nisībīs as a stopover, until he collected something of what had been promised him. For this reason they were anxious to find the road to Nisībīs across the desert, but since, through the darkness and obscurity[227] of the night, they could not find it,[228] they alighted from their horses on the top of a hill. (K.p.52) With the horses tied to the ankles[229] of their masters, they put the prisoner in the middle, and, like a ring, they surrounded him. That was a bitter night of affliction (EB.p.70) and of grief and of cold! The Persians cursed those who had mislead them, especially since they had not found what they were told to expect. When they awoke in the morning they saw that the ice was condensed on his moustache and on his beard and that he had not been given anything to eat since the moment they arrested him. There was, so to speak, little breath of life in him. When these Magi learned from the one who was captured with him (for he knew a little of their

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tongue) for what reason he had been arrested, they became afraid of him lest he curse them, and he was much honored in their eyes. They reached cultivated land the next day and they turned aside to a village to spend the night. They locked him in a fortified house to be guarded, where there was a woman who had given birth within the two days before their arrival. Although this was a difficult time in her life, she still was indignant at the contempt and scorn that the holy man was getting. (The woman was a believer.) This man who did not dare to look even at his mother's face carefully, was caused to dwell under heavy security measures with a woman in childbed!

They brought him to Nisībis, where the Marzban ordered him (K.p.53) locked up in the inn and assigned[230] ten Magi men to guard him, all of whom slept with him within his jailing place. Even when he had to go out to urinate[231] some of them had to go out with him and guard him carefully. He did not desist worshiping as it was his habit, even if those pagans should mock or laugh at him. A few days later the Marzban realized that he was late in going to announce to Ephraim that John had been arrested and that he was jailed in Nisībis. Secretly, he diligently inquired, (EB.p.71) about the reason for which this man should be accused by the Romans, that we should be sent to capture him, and that we should jail him like

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a criminal. When he learned that the things that had been said against him were lies he immediately issued an order and all the Grandees of the city and all the chiefs of the troops in that same city assembled before him. He also sent to where John was jailed and had him brought before him. He walked in, and while all who had gathered there sat on the floor before the man,[232] he ⌈the Marzban⌋ saw his face, his fairness, his stature, his civility, his modesty and his handsome appearance. Then the Marzban stretched out his hand toward his Grandees and made a sign to them. The Persians, particularly the Magi, are taught a system for silently communicating with one another[233] (K.p.54) by means of finger signals. So he indicated with his fingers, "This man is free born and not a slave, a just man and not a criminal." One of the Grandees sitting there (a Christian) spoke up and said,[234] "I beg your pardon my Lord,[235] if this man appears before Caesar, he ⌈Caesar⌋ will immediately stand up for him,[236] according to Christian protocol, for, as you know, he is a bishop." When the Marzban heard that, he ordered at once, and John sat down[237] before him on the floor, and talked to him through an interpreter who said to him in Greek, "How did you dare, a man such as you, to cross over to our country[238] without our permit?[239] Don't you know that this is another State?" The blessed one spoke and said to him in Greek (EB.p.72)

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through the interpreter, "This is not the first time[240] that I have crossed over to this land. It is rather the third time that I have passed over to pray with these saints who have already been living for many years in that mountain where you arrested me like a criminal. Who am I that your Lordship should know about me before I pass? I am a poor man, as you can see.[241] Further, today there is so much peace between the two kingdoms that I do not make a distinction (K.p.55) between one State and the other.[242] The two kings are brothers in love. Thus, whenever I am here, I feel I am in the Roman's territory, and whenever I am in the Roman's territory, ⌈I feel⌋ I am here because of the same peace." The Marzban said, "How can you say that you are poor when you have collected for yourself much gold from those who came to you ⌈for the Sacerdotal ordination⌋?" The Confessor answered, "Behold! I was taken by surprise by those whom you sent. Let them say what they found with me when they arrested and searched me.[243] Also, I request that, if possible while I am still jailed here, your Lordship send trustworthy men and let them search everywhere about our dwelling, let them ask my friends and the enemies who have accused me, let them show if I have taken anything from anyone. If anything is found by those by whom I am accused let me be crucified in the middle of this city! I gave away what I had from

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my parents and I was receiving alms from the others."[244] The Marzban said, "Why did you rebel against Caesar and against those who have the authority (EB.p.73) in his land? Do not you know that whoever rebels against his masters acts wrongfully? Now, if you want, I shall reconcile you with the Romans and you will do according to their pleasure, and you will live in rest and peace." The blessed one said, "I am not rebelling against our victorious, peaceful, and merciful Emperor. I too, like my colleagues, obey him--as we ought--(K.p.56) being ⟨a legally established authority⟩ in the world[245] and I pray on his behalf that he may govern his kingdom according to God's will." When he ⟨the Marzban⟩ heard how much[246] he ⟨John⟩ was praising the Emperor, he raised his voice and said, according to their way of praising, "May the luck of the King of Kings be with you, the one who is equal to God!"[247] And he said to his Grandees, "Be amazed, either at the degradation his accusers have brought upon him before us, or at how he praises and shows his love for them!" The blessed one said, "Let your Lordship know that those who hate me[248] are persecuting me only because I do not forsake the creed in which I was baptized and in which they, too, were baptized, to embrace that other one which even they, like me, formerly anathematized." The Marzban said, "I am a magus[249] and I have two sons: if our lord the

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King of Kings[250] said to me, 'If you do not change what you believe and accept something else, I shall slay your two sons before you,' I would let them pour blood of both of them into my mouth but I would not change anything of what I profess. I know indeed that what has been said against you are lies." After he had asked many things of the saint, and he had answered as was expedient, he sent him back (EB.p.74) to where he was jailed, expecting that John should send him a gift.[251] (K.p.57) One of the Marzban's men came to him and said, "If you have something to give, we shall release you and you will escape, because we know that you have been unjustly arrested." The blessed man said to him, "Absolutely not! If our Roman Emperor should come and take hold of me and order me to escape, I would not. I have nothing and by God's help I am afraid of no person." After he had spent three days in Nisībīs, Ephraim sent to the Persians what he had promised, and as soon as they received it they gave an order and he was handed over to the Romans, who dragged him to Dârā,[252] accompanied by the numerous troops that had received him at the frontier, and he was jailed there for three days. Mamma, Bishop of Dârā, with all those who chose to please man and not God, worked hard to have him agree with them and consent to their wishes. But after many explanations he said to them, "Wickedly and violently you are compelling

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the people to consent to something which is not true, against their will. May the Lord forgive you! You seek to please man and not God, Ephraim and not the truth."

Since Ephraim was about to come to Rîš ʿaynā[253] where he hoped to ensnare the holy John (K.p.58) as he had many others, while still on the way he sent for him and had him brought there escorted by many Roman soldiers.[254] When he arrived (EB.p.75) the bishops assembled there waiting for the coming of their Head gathered around him and said to him, "Why did you do all these things? Why did you trouble the Church so much? Why don't you return to your right mind like your companions?[255] What canon law allows you to do the thing you are doing?" He said to them, "When there is a state of confusion such as this,[256] the Church does not observe the mere formalities of the canons.[257] As you already know and still can be reminded, what sort of formalities kept the saint and martyr of pious memory Eusabius, Bishop of Samosata,[258] in the ways he acted when the Ariminites[259] were siezing the churches, or the great Athanasius[260] or the others like them?" They answered him, "Stop talking about these things which are not of any advantage to you. Submit yourself now to the Lord Patriarch, and he will absolve and remit everything and you shall go back with honor and dignity to your see."

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He replied to them, "Whom do you think I am? You should rather go out and weep for your sins! Don't bewail me.[261] 'No one who puts his hand to the plow and looks back is fit for the kingdom of God,' according to our Saviour's teaching.[262] He ⟨the Lord⟩ also said to us, 'Remember (K.p.59) Lot's wife.'[263] Also it is written in Ezekiel that 'when the peoples of the land come before the Lord at the time of the feast, he who enters by the north gate to worship shall go out by the south gate; and he who enters (EB.p.76) by the south gate shall go out by the north gate: no one shall return by way of the gate by which he entered, but each shall go out straight ahead.'"[264] John tried to explain the meaning of this, in accordance with what he wanted to tell them, and even against their will he said it to them. "To those who have made themselves Christ's disciples and have accepted for themselves his life-giving commandments, it is not expedient to go back and think of the earthly things and not of the heavenly ones, and change with the times, and bend with every wind, and lean on every pole, and go in every walk and drink from every stream, as the ⟨Divine⟩ Wisdom reproves those who are involved with these things.[265] But it is necessary that the strong ones hold fast in their firmness and in their conduct, everyone who is from the Christian masses according to his own rank." Then one of them, namely Asylus, Bishop of Rîš ʿaina, said to him,

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"What you have said previously is not in the book (K.p.60) of Ezekiel." And the blessed man said to him, "It is truly necessary to say to you that you err for this very reason: you do not know the Scriptures or the power of God."[266] And he said to them, "Even if you say to me either flattering or threatening words, I shall not be like the polyp, about which it is written that while searching for food, it is of its nature that whatever it comes to touch it transforms it to its own color." Then all of them got angry, and they rose up and left. On the next day (EB.p.77) they gathered in the winter Secretarium of the Church and they sent and called for him. The very same people were talking to him, calling him "a deceiver and a troublemaker of the Church." But he said to them, "Who is disturbing the Church of God, I, or those who are leading large troops of Goths,[267] violently and with all sorts of torture compelling the people of God to surrender? Whoever suppresses the truth by the force of public law[268] carries out the purposes of the world as was the case during pagan times. When did you see or hear that the people enter the Church by means of swords and sticks? (K.p.61) Whom did I deceive as you pretend, since I return from the mountains and the deserts but rarely? You have the gold; you have the freedom; you possess the entire earth, so to speak; and you are appointing the dignitaries[269] and making

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promises![270] But even so, the people flee from you as from their enemies; and still you insist that I deceived the people despite the fact that I do not have even one single thing of what you have! They should have obeyed you, for you possess all these things, and not me, the poor one! If someone comes to me and asks me about the truth, you want me to lie! Is it because I say the truth that I deceive?" Following this Christophorus, Chorepiscopus of Amīd,[271] said to him after a while, "It is with you hair tunic, your black robes, your long beard (EB.p.78) that you deceive the world." This blessed one said to him, "This is a childish way of talking. According to what you say,[272] whoever puts on a hair-made cloth and is dressed like the saints of old who showed us this example of humility, or those others of whom the holy books witnessed that they pleased God with this same humble garment, is a deceiver. Even you yourself (K.p.62) are dressed with a hair-made tunic but nobody calls you a deceiver because of that!" This is the way they started to talk to him and how they concluded.

A large number of people from the villages and from the other cities had gathered in this city of Rîš ʿainā.[273] Also, through the industry of some, many were ready[274] to be false accusers. But the Lord silenced all of them! They testified, among many other things, that "he collected much money[275] from the ordinations"

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and in this matter also their lie was confuted and the truth prevailed. This matter was carefully investigated and it was not found that he had received anything from anyone, either himself or through those who were with him--not even one single mina.

When Patriarch Ephraim arrived, accompanied by the sizable army that was with him, they received him with a big parade with chariots of two wheels,[276] four wheeled chariots,[277] and with yoked teams ⌈of horses?⌋. The morning after he had arrived he sent and had the saint brought forth from the place where he was jailed, while many Romans carrying sticks went before and behind him. There was no room to walk, so to speak, because of the people (EB.p.79) who had gathered for this show. The Roman soldiers who were escorting John pushed away (K.p.63) the huge crowd and could hardly make him pass through them, while all those who were faithful were saying, "May the One whom you have served since your youth till your old age be with you!"

Then he went before Ephraim, to the Secretarium of the Church[278] where he was sitting ready. The bishops were sitting here and there about the room and many of their followers were standing before them. They ⌈the bishops⌋ said to Ephraim, "Do not talk to him before the people, for before your Holiness came to this place we talked with him a great deal[279] to have him submit, but

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he answered us with like requests,[280] and very nearly a big uproar could have broken out because of it." Then Ephraim rose immediately and led him to the Baptistry, along with some of his men, some others from among the secular nobles, and Rufinus, his Scholastic.[281] Some of the men from among those /who were/ standing shouted and said, "This one deserves to be burnt alive! This one deserves to be stoned!" And while all the people were waiting outside to see what would be the outcome of the action, Ephraim began to talk to Bishop John in the following manner.

"I honor you to such an extent that I do not want to remain seated myself while you are standing. Let us rather converse with one another in love and peace. And first of all, I pray God that if I say the truth to you, He will open your heart to listen to my words. (K.p.64) If you are wrong in your way of thinking, and if you do not want to submit, then we shall leave you alone." In reply to which (EB.p.80) John said, "I am not going to say anything to you. If I say something I shall not profit, as others who are better than I and who talked several times with you did not profit either. Can a poor man like me have a discussion with the Patriarch in this state of anarchy?[282] For the Patriarch and the metropolitans--not to mention the entire Council--must meet because of this question about which there is controversy,

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that it may be straightened out, as is habitual with the holy Church." Ephraim said, "To everyone is given the power to speak freely about the belief and no one should consider the dignity of a person or any other thing. Everyone has the right to say whatever he wants about the belief. Not the wise men or the sophists have found our faith, but the shoemakers, the fishermen, and the other men.[283] Tell us, then, in what way you think we say something different. No one, if he believes in a wrong way, should remain in his belief and be like the Jews and the Samaritans who, as everyone knows, believe in a wrong way and are ashamed before the other Jews[284] and they rather prefer to die while believing in a wrong way. We must return from the bad things to the good ones." (K.p.65) John said, "You said it beautifully; the words are good. However, I do not wish to discuss with you now, because there are no trustworthy mediators to examine the matter and to declare innocent the innocent one and to condemn the guilty; there is not now an impartial mediator." Ephraim said, "If this is agreeable to you, I shall keep silent. There are laymen here; talk to them about whatever you want." Immediately Rufinus the Scholastic came forth, up to the very beard of the blessed one, with all (EB.p.81) savagery, rolling his eyes and twitching his mouth as he spoke (as he was accustomed to do), and with a loud and vehement voice he said to him as follows.

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"The believing Church says, 'One of the Trinity, the Word of God became flesh and he was made man,'[285] and she confesses and proclaims that the saint Lady Mary gave birth to God[286]...his wonders and his Passion.[287] Say then, before the entire city, in what do you blame the holy Church?" John answered, "You do not frighten me with your shouts,[288] and do not think that you might scare me. Let us have time for discussion. Now, and for all the days of my life, like the holy Fathers and like the blessed Cyril who fought hard against those who said that 'after the union there are two natures,' I do proclaim that there is one nature and one person of God the Word who was made flesh."[289] Rufinus said, "is perhaps the word of God who was made flesh a nature? Do you say, maybe, that there is only one nature of God the Word and of the flesh?" (K.p.66) John said, "It is not so." Rufinus said, "Then one thing[290] is the nature of the Word and another thing is the nature of the flesh?" John answered, "You began right but you finished wrong.[291] I do not say anything new as you did. I really did not wish to answer you at all;[292] whoever talks to you is just beating the air.[293] As I mentioned before, I say what was said by the holy Fathers, that 'there is one nature and one person of God the Word (EB.p.82) who was made flesh, without any commingling or change,' but I do not say two after the union. I acknowledge one Christ of

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two natures. Those who say, 'two after the union,' are against the Fathers." Rufinus asked, "Do these two natures exist as such or are they commingled? They do not, do they?" John answered, "Do not ask silly questions.[294] Listen to the blessed Cyril who in his treatise One is Christ said as follows, 'But who is so foolish and ignorant as to think that either the Word's nature has been changed to what it was not itself, or that, by a way of transformation, it has been converted to what belongs to the Word? (K.p.67) This is impossible. Therefore we say that there is only one Son and that He has only one nature, although it is acknowledged that, by assuming the flesh, He received a rational soul.'[295] Moreover, open your ears and listen to these words from his letter to Acacius, which are as follows, 'For this reason, as to these things of which the one and only begotten Son and Lord Jesus Christ is made, as much as we are able to perceive it mentally, we say that they were two natures which became united. But after the union (since the separation of the two things is already abolished) we believe that there is only one nature of the Son as He is the only One, and yet, as being incarnated and made man.'"[296] Rufinus asked, "Does the thing you see in your mind exist or not? Or did one of them absorb the other one?" John answered, (EB.p.83) "Again it is said by the blessed Cyril as follows, 'Therefore, when

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the mode of incarnation is investigated, then always the human intelligence perceives two natures which are united to each other in an ineffable and inexplicable way.'"[297] Suddenly Rufinus interrupted John's speech and he did not allow him to finish this quotation.[298] Shouting, he said to him, "Lo! You said that the human intelligence sees two natures." Stretching out his hands toward the heavens, he shouted; and he stood in front of John, between him and Ephraim, and said, "Christ has won! (K.p.68) The Church has won! There is only one God. He is too shy of the people to confess it straightly." And all of them increased the shouting and they did not allow John to speak again, for they knew what he was going to say.

Immediately Ephraim went out to the people; he left Rufinus and the others carrying on the discussion with him. He went out and said to the people, "You have seen with what kind of honor I have received him. There inside I asked him what he believes and, just as we do confess, he himself did confess and he himself said that 'there are two natures in Christ,' but now[299] he really is ashamed to have communion with us." And at once, as it is written, all those who "were hired for a handful of barley and for pieces of bread,"[300] whose hope is only in the thing which their corporeal eyes can see "and their god is their belly and they glory in their shame,"[301]

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and, as it is written, "they do not serve our Lord Jesus Christ but their own belly"[302] and all "their mind is set on earthly things,"[303] those, (EB.p.84) since they did not see that the verdict which was made was unjust--for a deceitful judgment had come out--all shouted with one accord and praised the unlawful authority[304] in the following manner: "Long live the rightful doctor Mār Ephraim! Long live the herald of the truth! Whoever does not agree with you is a heretic!" and many other futile words which were shouted. And a statement was issued (K.p.69) in which they calumniated him, saying that John had really said that there were two natures in Christ.

Although the day was already far spent and the saint was being kept in the Baptistry with all that severe cold, Rufinus and his companions, switching alternatively among themselves, went on discussing with him. Because of that, there was, so to speak, little soul left in him. It was the time of Lent, and because of the strain of fasting and the severe cold he scarcely could talk. Afterward they took him back to the place where he had been, locked him up in the innermost chamber, and set up guards with him inside and outside the bolts. On the next day the tempter Rufinus came again and, with his knees next to those of the blessed man, he began to discuss with him. Talking in a loud voice, twisting his mouth and his head at the rhythm of the syllables, like

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a madman, he called him a "Manichean."[305] The blessed man said to him, "You talk all the time and you do not let me talk. That is what you did to me yesterday before your Patriarch when you interrupted my speech, at the end of which you all were going to be fully approved![306] This is not the characteristic mark of scholars.[307] The way of your learning is not civilized. This is how you convert the world; this is how the Arab Munzir (EB.p.85) was forcefully converted!"[308] (K.p.70) Then Rufinus said, "O Acephalous! Who is your head and whom do you follow?"[309] John answered, "Our head is Christ Himself, and after Christ the Patriarch Mār Severus,[310] the Patriarch Mār Theodotius,[311] the Patriarch Mār Anthimus,[312] and all the rest of the orthodox Bishops who are persecuted for the truth." At once the angry Rufinus jumped up with great shouts and he poured out insults on saint John himself and on those whose names he had mentioned. He was like those who are possessed by evil spirits who do not know what they are saying, and do not realize whether they are contemning the martyrs or praising them. He /Rufinus/ departed from him with all that diabolic anger, as did all the others of the same group who had come to the blessed man. Basiliscus especially, the notary[313] of Ephraim, scorned him to his face. But when they saw that their expectations were not fulfilled by these harsh ways, they

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changed this strategy and began with another one, that of flattery. They sent for him and led him to the place where Ephraim and those who were with him had gathered at the evening time. They talked with him at length in gentle terms for a long time, to have him yield to them and return to his place. But when they saw that not even in this way would he concede to them, they became more agitated than they were before. (K.p.71) Bar Kîlī, Bishop of Amīd, led him and brought him into a certain house, and again he presented to him the same flatteries; but when he saw that he would not yield to their crafts, he exclaimed and said to the saint, "Pledge that you will not escape, (EB.p.86) so that we may make an act. Swear to me that you will not escape.[314] You are a liar and nobody believes you."

John said, "The wise judge asks for both, the oath and the act at the same time.[315] If you believe in oaths, then why do you want to make an act? I promise that I will not escape; even if the Emperor himself orders me to escape, I shall not escape. Do whatever is within your power!" And after all this and much more of the same was done to him, they sent him off to Antioch with many Romans who were appointed to take him up there. And it took thirty days on the road from the time they drove out with him from Nisībis until they brought him to Antioch, under heavy security from one city to the other. The

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purpose was also to show him to the people, so as to say that this was the same John who had done things for them for many years already, and so that those who, after God, had counted on him, should get discouraged, and thus would be corrected whatever became disturbed and confused when Ephraim went down to the East.

When on his way up to Antioch this saint arrived at Ḥarrān, (K.p.72) Cometas, the man who had led him to this same city, jailed him in a house, the home of a certain man who, as it was said, was a pagan, and he was securely guarded. This Cometas inflicted many evils on the believers he arrested in Ḥarrān, and he and the men of his band did similarly in all the villages and in all the towns that they entered. If someone should meet him in the way, be he poor or rich, a man or a woman, under different pretexts he did to them much wrong, for he hoped that for all these (EB.p.87) evil deeds he was doing he would be given a ducate as a salary and a remuneration. Counting on this hope and on this promise, he had let himself fall into all these evil deeds. One day in the same city of Ḥarrān he caught an orthodox deacon[316] with other people, and he tied his hands up to his back and from the rafters' beams he suspended him in air for a long time. Because of the pain he was suffering [the deacon] cried out and said, "O Christ, Son of God, help me!" But Cometas himself said a

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blaspheme which is not easy to write down, lest those who hear it be terror-stricken. He forced him to receive the Eucharist[317] or to pay so many darics.[318] (K.p.73) This wicked man was a blasphemous and a boastful one. And I have narrated only the least of his evils, that you may see to what sort of wild beast this blessed John was entrusted by the hands of those who call themselves shepherds of the Church. How much kindness, how many words of warning concerning God's fear for the salvation of the soul of this wicked man were heard from the prisoner he drove, but none of them could soften his hard heart!

And when this one took saint John up to Antioch and they had arrived at Gigliga,[319] which is at the entrance of Antioch, they found that the chorepiscopi of the Church of Antioch,[320] the vicars, the defensors of the church of the city, their notaries and many others were assembled with all their savagery in the monastery, which is called Count Manassa's Monastery,[321] along with the monks of the monastery itself and monks from its neighborhood. And when the tired and exhausted John, along with the Romans who had led him there, entered and stood among them, they received him according to the mood they were in; that should suffice to let the listeners know the sort of things which their rage led to then. There was the one who poured curses (EB.p.88) on him; there was the mocker who jested; there was someone who wagged

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his head; there was the one who made noise with his feet; there was the one who clapped with his hands; there was confused excitement and troublesome crowd; it was an evening of drunkenness, indeed. (K.p.74) And after their hurtful words, they said to him, "We are ordered by the Patriarch in this letter he sent to us that you must be jailed in this convent and be securely guarded; and behold! those are they whom we have appointed to guard you, and those who are with you. Give their names to the Prosecutor and say before him that you will not escape so that he may draw up an act."[322]

The accused said, "Every day I am asked to make an act. If I have to be guarded why then make an act on me?" Then all of them increased their shouts and said, "Do it, and you shall be guarded so that you will not escape."

But he said, "Many times I have said and now also I repeat that even if the Emperor himself ordered me to escape I would not escape. I wrong no one and I have done no evil thing to anyone." After this answer all of them shouted very much. He said to them, "Do whatever you are ordered to do, but do not add threat upon threat like your comrades. Whatever you are supposed to do, go and do." And they jailed him along with four others of his men in a narrow room which was inside a certain house and bolted the door on them. There were seven who

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were appointed to guard him: Lecticarii,[323] monks and the sleepless monks.[324] There was a man among those sleepless monks whom they called "Barabbas" because of his wicked deeds, (K.p.75) which promoted him and he became a sleepless monk in the House of Mār Julian the Martyr. He would drag out men and women, torture them, and turn them in to the prisons because they did not profess the Diophysite heresy. (EB.p.89) Also he dared to enter the faithful people's houses for the same reason. And as many of his companions who guarded saint John have said, he had taken part in a murder, among many other things. Behold! These very deeds promoted him and he became a cleric! Because he was so active, he was appointed to watch over this blessed one. The evil things which he caused him to bear are too many to record here! He was disturbed with much impudic laughter and with words proper of blasphemers, of harlots, of times of wrestling contests, of tales of dancers, and with endless chatter. The decency of my listeners hinders me from repeating what is very shameful or the impudic and unseemly deeds which he /"Barabbas"/ did. And after this, which should have been rather an occasion for tears and laments, an uninterrupted laughing was heard from all of them. At night this "Barabbas" and one of his companions lodged with the saint and those who were jailed with him in that narrow cabin within the

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threshold, and the rest of (K.p.76) his companions who were lodged outside locked the door bolts on those who were inside and leaned against the door from outside. When the blessed one would ask to go out to urinate,[325] then those who were outside opened the door bolt and he would go out; when he entered they would shut it back as it was. And none of those who were with him dared to talk to the saint openly but had to do it secretly and wait for an appropriate moment. During the day they would open the door bolt and he could go out to the outer room when he wanted, while the doors and windows were being guarded, but at night he was imprisoned in his place.

There was a man among those who were with the saint who (EB.p.90) followed him everywhere and he /̄John_/ listened to him on many things for the sake of Christ. Ephraim dispatched an order separating him from his side and jailed him in another place, which was two miles away from him, for he thought he was making him not obey him /̄Ephraim_/. Two of his followers who had remained with him became distressed, left him, and went away, and for this reason those who were guarding him became particularly watchful. Many persons were sent continually to the blessed John, who disputed with him and asked him to put in writing what he believed, in order to find words against him to catch him by and to

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slander him.[326] He did that without fear and sent it to them.

Two days (K.p.77) before the dedication of the Church of Antioch, which Ephraim had rebuilt for the second time (because of the second earthquake that had happened during his reign),[327] many bishops, chorepiscopi, periodeutes, worshippers, and monks--as one says, a very large crowd[328]--assembled from the Antiochian district. All those people had gathered there because of the order /dispatched concerning/ the feast. The abbot of the same monastery of Count Manassa where John was imprisoned went (this abbot tried to please Ephraim as if it was to please Christ), and said to him, "That John who is imprisoned in my monastery is asking to see you and to pay obedience to you, and he sent me with this message to you."[329] At once the news spread throughout the city. Ephraim, accompanied by many people from among the bishops and from among the other groups, arose at once, went out to him, and had him sent for. With all courage the saint went down to him in the cloister of the monastery. Ephraim said to him, (EB.p.91) "I heard that you are asking to see me,[330] but I said, 'Not exactly so; he shall not come. Rather, I shall go out to him.' What did you do? What did you think? Do you agree with the Holy Church? I do not wish that you adhere to your own opinion." John answered and said to

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him,[331] "When did I ask (K.p.78) to come to you? It shall not be made easy for you to say whatever comes to your mind.[332] Really, I neither sought nor had I a desire to see you, or to enter inside the gates of this city. Go away from me. I am not a little boy to be blandished." He seized the end of his beard and said, "God forbid that these grey hairs of mine put to shame the Church of Christ! This is like what you charged me with in Rîš ʿaina; /¯There_/ you have said and written on my behalf that I have said, 'There are two natures in Christ.'[333] I truly say that even if my Patriarch Mār Severus came and ordered me to confess[334] that there are two natures in Christ after the union, I would put my two hands on his head and excommunicate him. Why did you interrupt my speech in Rîš ʿaina and not let me finish it? You asked me for a defense of the truth, but you said to me, 'You cannot say but that there are two natures after the union.'[335] And I started to recite before you the matter as it was said by the blessed Cyril that 'when the manner of the incarnation is examined, then the human mind always sees that the two natures are united in an indescribable and unexplainable manner....' From here on you shouted against me and said that I had said that 'two natures are.' Then I refrained from adding the rest, which you held back by your shouts and which are the following, 'Once they are united, then nobody can

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separate them (K.p.79) any more; (EB.p.92) but everyone believes and firmly accepts that the One, who is composed of two natures, is God and Son and Christ and Lord.'[336] By these words I just have said, do I seem to you as having said that even after the union there are two natures, or that I am changed in anything of what I am? And now, as long as I live and, if it is possible, even after my death, I anathematize whoever thinks differently of what was said by the Holy Fathers, from whom we are taught and enlightened."

Ephraim looked toward the abbot and said, "Do not be upset, Your Reverence. He is used to lying." Immediately he arose and left.[337] But the scoffers and the mockers stayed with John, laughing at him, and when he noticed that he answered them and said,[338] "We, too, have a mouth and, if we want, we can mock like you! But far be it from us to transgress the law of Christ,[339] to dishonor or to curse! We were not taught this way." One of them answered him saying, "We do know that you have a mouth that can eat up a camel, a wild ass...." and many other words which they said, in their usual way. But he left them standing still[340] and went up to his quarters. When the dedication was over, those who had gathered there left for their own places and Ephraim went up to Constantinople. On his way he ordered that the man who had been separated from John to be jailed

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in another place, (K.p.80) be sent for and brought back to John's side.

Two months before he died John knew clearly that his death was near[341] and he narrated the vision he saw, but he adjured that it not be published. He had been steady and assiduous in constant prayer[342] and tears, night and day; he never felt that he had enough of it and he would not stop. He immediately narrated in the morning what he had seen. On the evening of the same day a holy man went up to (EB.p.93) the blessed one. He was of excellent conduct and a maker of wonders, as we have seen with our own eyes one of his miracles. His name was Heliodorus. He was the abbot of one of the monasteries which are in the mountain of Antioch. He himself was imprisoned in the monastery of Count Manassa for the same reason of belief.[343] Thirty days before he died, this same old man had asked for an interview and he went up to Bishop John, to the place where he was imprisoned and he adjured him saying, "By the prayers of our spiritual father and true pastor Patriarch Mār Severus, no one shall put incense over my corpse when I die except you. I am going to die any time within these few days. However, you should not be sad, but take courage, for shortly afterward you too will follow me." Three days later this great old man came to rest. And, as many people informed us and as we ourselves saw with

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our own eyes during the short time we spent in his company, one of his constant hardships since the time this holy man received the monastic tonsure was the following: (K.p.81) he made for himself a leather tunic that went from the waist to the floor. And, having that leather tunic on, he used to pull off his shirt and stay all day long in the sun, dedicated to ascetic exercises and prayers. His skin became burnt from the heat of the sun as if it were from the heat of the fire. One day, while we were all watching him from above, some people brought to him, bound with flax ropes, a youth who was possessed by an evil spirit and they threw him before him when this ascetic was in the sun. He prayed on him and annointed him with the prayer's unction, and within three days the spirit which was troubling him left him, so that he became ruly and gentle; and many people praised (EB.p.94) God Who listens to the voice of His worshippers and fulfills the will of those who fear Him. This saint died thirty days before our spiritual father died.

On the first indiction which was the year 849th after the computus of Alexander's era,[344] on the sixth day of Šebōt /February/,[345] on Saturday at noon that spiritual shepherd /John/ left this world. He had constantly kept his death before his eyes and unfailingly he meditated in the hour of his passing. They brought him out of the place of his confinement and put him in

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the outer room, for the brethren of that monastery were edified by him and he was respected in their eyes, (K.p.82) because they had seen his bearing, his humility and his perfect conduct. Since their abbot had not yet returned[346] when the blessed one died, all of them went up earnestly, brought him down from the place in which he was and put him on the bier in the Martyrion. This matter was made known to the sons of the Church, who sent for the Attorney of the Church to come and see the thing that God had done to the saint. May our Lord forgive the sort of words which the messenger--whose name was Parthenius--spoke concerning the corpse of this saint! The day set and it became dark. And the officials[347] of the Church ordered that guards be carefully mounted so that no one would notice that he had died, lest there be a tumult and the city be in an uproar if, from zeal, those whom the news reached should react in a violent way. And the saint was buried in the middle of the night that precedes Sunday. The entire period of time of his confinement was one year and six days. He lived fifty-five years.

Before he died, and particularly at the time of his death, he prayed diligently (EB.p.95) for the peace of the Holy Church and for those who made him suffer so much. His fatigues came to an end and his boat reached the harbor for he fought a good fight, finished his race,

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kept his faith[348] and his talent came with profits,[349] and because he has borne the burden of the day and its heat[350] (K.p.83) he received the crown of victory.[351] Now he is in the opulence of the beatitudes which our Lord has promised to the saints like him: "Blessed are the hungry ones, for they shall be satisfied;" "Blessed are you that weep now, for you shall laugh;" and "Blessed are you when they hate you, and when they persecute you and cast out your name as evil, because of the Son of man! Rejoice in that day, and leap for joy, for your reward is great in heaven."[352] For there certainly is the place which Christ has promised them in his preaching: "Where I am, there shall my servant be also."[353] To Him be the glory to eternity of eternities.

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The biography of the venerable and most blessed John, Bishop of the city of Tella, has ended.[354]

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FOOTNOTES TO THE HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

[1]Cf. Joseph S. Assemani, Bibliotheca orientalis Clementino-Vaticana, ii (Rome, 1721), pp.53-54; hereafter BO.

[2]D. Tell-Maḥre died in A.D. 845. Cf. William Wright, A Short History of Syriac Literature (London, 1894), p.200; hereafter Syr. Litt.

[3]Assemani, BO, loc. cit. Bar-Hebraeus died in A.D. 1286. On Bar-Hebraeus' life and works cf. Wright, Syr. Littl, pp.265-281.

[4]See William Wright, Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum, ii (London, 1872), p.1123 and pp.1126-7 No. 17 on John of Tella. In p.1137 col. b to p.1139 there are two colophons where the names of the patron and of the scribe are mentioned.

[5]See Wright, Cat. pp.1150 col. b.-1151 col. a.

[6]Vitae virorum apud monophysitas celeberrimorum: Vita Johannis episcopi Tellae, ed. and trans. Ernest W. Brooks, in Corpus scriptorum Christianorum orientalium (CSCO), XXV, scriptores Syri, series tertia (Paris, 1907), pp.1 and 29; hereafter Vitae.

[7]See Wright, Cat. pp.1094-96, No., 24.

[8]Hendrik G. Kleyn in his Het Leven van Johannes van Tella (Leiden, 1882), p.IX, ventured the idea that this Elias is the same Elias of Dârā; but Brooks, Vitae, p.29 (text), and Wright, Syr. Litt., p.82, questioned it.

[9]Cf. Jan P. N. Land, Anecdota Syriaca, ii (Leiden, 1868), pp.169-177. Also John of Ephesus, Commentarii de beatis orientalibus, trans. W. J. van Douwen and J. P. N. Land (Amsterdam, 1889), pp.108-113 (in Latin), and Wright, Syr. Littl, p.105 n.1.

[10]Kleyn, op. cit., p.IX.

[11]Cf. n. 6 above. References concerning textual problems, if it is not stated otherwise, are made to Brooks' edition.

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[12]Hippolyte Delehaye, Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires (Brussels, 1921), pp.3-4, 57-100 and 150-162; id., Les légendes hagiographiques, 4th ed. (Brussels, 1955), pp.2, 7-8, 11 and pp.140-201.

[13]Delehaye, Les légendes, p.217, says: "Par le fait même qu'elle rend sensible cet idéal sublime / de l'esprit évangélique /, la légende, comme toute poésie, peut pretendre à un degré de verité plus élevé que l'histoire."

[14]"Lives of the saints are often of considerable value as historical sources, says Ostrogorsky, and for certain periods are no less important than the actual historical works themselves." See George Ostrogorsky, History of the Byzantine State, trans. Joan Hussey (oxford, 1956), p.21. For concrete examples cf. Francois Halkin, "L'hagiographie byzantine au service de l'histoire" in Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford 5-10 Sept., 1966. Ed. J. M. Hussey et al. (London, 1967), pp.345-54. I used an offprint, Main Papers, XI (Oxford, 1966), pp.4-7.

[15]Cf. John of Ephesus Commentarii, p.221 says: "alios / monachos / clauso ejectos vi barbarorum gladio et fuste coegit ut sumerent eucharistiam."

[16]See F. Halkin, op. cit., p.1.

[17]Three Byzantine Saints, trans. ed. Elizabeth Dawes and Norman H. Baynes (Oxford, 1948), p.IX. But see Delehaye as in n. 12 above.

[18]Cf. nn. 28, 79 below. Also A.-J. Festugière, Les moines d'Orient, I-IV (Paris, 1961-65), Indexes.

[19]Cf. E. Brooks, Vitae (text), p.29.

[20]Cf. E. R. Hayes, L'école de'Édesse (Paris, 1930), pp.123, 147 and passim; Arthur Vöobus, History of the School of Nisibis in CSCO, CCLXVI (Louvain, 1965), pp.15, 17, 104 f.

[21]On the qualifications of the biographer and the nature of the biography cf. the excellent book of John A. Garraty, The Nature of Biography (New York, 1964), pp. 9-28 and passim.

[22]Cf. John A. Garraty, pp.157-59. The author cites the examples of Dorothy Caruso and James W. Alexander, writing the "lives" of husband and father respectively.

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[23]Cf. n. 9 above.

[24]Les canons et les résolutions canoniques de Jean de Tella, ed. trans. François Nau (Paris, 1906), pp.8-30. Cf. also this Introduction, pp.18-19.

[25]Cf. R. G. Collingwood, The Idea of History, 9th ed. (New York, 1966), p.282.

[26]Cf. The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus, I, part ii, ed. E. W. Brooks (London, 1904), pp.389-94. For the identification of his companion cf. E. Honigmann, Évêques et évêchés monophysites in CSCO, CXXVII (Louvain, 1951), pp.72-73 and footnotes therein.

[27]See Zachariah of Mitylene, Chronicle, trans. F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks (London, 1899), Book VIII, ch. V. p.207; there is also a Latin translation of Zachariah's work made by E. W. Brooks in CSCO, CXXXVIII, script. Syri (Louvain, 1924), p.56. Cf. pp.56-8 and n. 88 of our translation.

[28]Cf. Chronicle, ii, ed. trans. J.-B. Chabot (Paris, 1902), p.172.

[29]We know this detail from the headlines of A Treatise on Canonical Law written by Bishop John himself and from the Chronicon anonymum of the year 819 A.D., ed. trans. J.-B. Chabot, in CSCO, CIX, script. Syr. (Louvain, 1937), p.6 n. 3; Cursus, Curcus and Cyricus are the variants of QRSWS in Syriac.

[30]There is no evidence whatsoever that John was a soldier in the duke's troops as Kleyn translated in p. xxviii, l. 24. Quite on the contrary; according to the narrative, it appears that he was getting ready for the Civil Service, since he continued to live at home with his mother and his tutor; cf. also F. Nau. op. cit. p. 1 n. 8.

[31]Emperor Justinian was less intransigent with the Monophysites than his uncle and predecessor Justin; Empress Theodora played an important role in this policy of tolerance and pacification. Contrary to what the text of the Biography indicates (cf. p.69 of our trans.), the number of the bishops was six of each side and not eight. There was also an unknown number of priests and monks. Cf. Histoire de l'Église, IV, ed. Augustin Fliche et Victor Martin (Paris, 1945), p.450. As for the date of this conference the most common opinion is that it was held in 532-533. Cf. Zachariah of Mitylene, Chronicle.

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p.212; Karl J. Hefele, Histoire des conciles, ii, 2 (Paris, 1908), p.1120 n. 1; cf. also n. 165 below.

[32]See Zachariah of Mitylene, op. cit., pp.297-299.

[33]John of Tella had strongly opposed the teaching of the Julianites as well as that of the Nestorians. Cf. pp.71-3 of our translation.

[34]Hefele, op. cit., I, 1 (Paris, 1907), pp.349-362 and p.443.

[35]Cf. Hefele, op. cit., I, 2 (Paris, 1907), p. 984 ff.

[36]Cf. Robert V. Sellers, Two Ancient Christologies (London, 1940), pp.3-4.

[37]Cf. Harry A. Wolfson, Philo, I (Cambridge: Mass., 1947), p.107 f.; pp.115-138; Id. The Philosophy of the Church Fathers, I (Cambridge: Mass., 1956), pp. 24-72; Alexander Kerringer, Saint Cyril of Alexandria Interpreter of the Old Testament (Rome, 1952), pp.111-131; David Danube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism (London, 1956), pp.438-444; Winfried Gruber, Die pneumatische Exegese bei den Alexandrinern (Graz, 1957), pp.12-27, and passim; Jean Daniélou, Philon d'Alexandrie (Paris, 1958), p.119 and pp.129-35...For examples of the speculative and idealistic trend of the Alexandrian teachers in Theology, cf. the excellent book of Sellers, Two Ancient Christologies, p.2 n. 2; p.3 n. 1; pp.4-7 etc....

[38]Cf. Sellers, op. cit., p.24 nn. 2 and 3 for quotations. I wish to say that in many instances I did no more than paraphrase Sellers.

[39]Cf. Sellers, pp.28 f. 54, 92-3; Joseph Lebon, Le monophysisme sévérien (Louvain, 1909), pp.199-233.

[40]See Sellers, p.46.

[41]See Sellers, p.46 and George L. Prestige, God in Patristic Thought, 2d. ed. (London, 1952), p.157.

[42]Cf. Sellers, p.47 who quotes Prestige. Cf. also there nn. 3-5 for examples.

[43]See Sellers, p.28 and p.48 nn. 105.

[44]See Sellers, p.48 f.; cf. also Lebon, op. cit., p.xxiii.

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[45]Cf. Hans Lietzmann, Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule (Tubingen, 1904), p.281.

[46]Cf. Sellers, p.54 and n. 3, p.89 n. 2 and pp. 95-98; cf. also John of Tella's Biography, p.93 of our translation and n. 289.

[47]Cf. Sellers, pp.22, 29, 52 and footnotes therein.

[48]See David J. Bowman, The Word Made Flesh (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1963), p.85.

[49]Glanville Downey, A History of Antioch in Syria (Princeton, 1961), p.338 n. 89.

[50]Cf. Rowan A. Greer, Theodore of Mopsuestia Exegete and Theologian (Westminster, 1961), p.86 and ch. 5; Louis Pirot, L'oeuvre exégétique de Théodore de Mopsueste (Rome, 1913), pp.12-13; Sellers, pp.108-9. On the History of the Exegetical School of Antioch see Pirot, pp.14-37.

[51]See Downey, op. cit., p.327 n. 42 and p.338 n. 88; also cf. Pirot, p.15 n. 2.

[52]See Bowman, p.75.

[53]See Richard A. Norris, Manhood and Christ (Oxford, 1963), p.3 and p.4 n. 3.

[54]Cf. Berthold Altaner, Patrology (Freiburg, 1960), p.272; Norris, p.21 and passim.

[55]See Sellers, p.60 n. 3 and p.65.

[56]Cf. Bowman, p.83; cf. also nn. 175 and 286 of our translation.

[57]Cf. Philippe-Thomas Camelot, Éphèse et Chalcédoine in Histoire des conciles oecuméniques, ed. G. Dumeige (Paris, 1962), p.38.

[58]See Sellers, pp.153, 216 ff.

[59]On the polemic literature of the Monophysites cf. Lebon, op. cit., pp.83-175; Paul Mouterde, "Le concile de Chalcédoine d'après les historiens monophysites de langue syriaque," in Das Konzil von Chalkedon (DKC), I, ed. A. Grillmeier and H. Bacht (Wurzburg, 1951), pp.381-602.

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[60]Cf. Lebon, pp.8-9; Camelot, pp.50-53.

[61]Cf. Lebon, p.9.

[62]See Francis Dvornik, The Ecumenical Councils (New York, 1961), p.23; Downey, op. cit., pp.461-465.

[63]See Bowman, p.86.

[64]Cf. Sellers, p.101 and nn. 1-5.

[65]Cf. Bowman, pp.86-87. On Eutyches' life and doctrine see M. Jugie "Eutyches et eutychianisme" in Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, (DTC) V.2, ed. A. Vacant et al. (Paris, 1939), cols. 1582-1609; also Joseph Tixeront, Histoire des dogmes, iii, 7th ed. (Paris, 1928), pp.80-89. On the two councils of Ephesus and that of Chalcedon see Camelot, pp.79-114.

[66]Cf. Camelot, pp.113-116.

[67]Cf. Ed. Schwartz, Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum (ACO), ii, 1, (Berlin, 1933), l. 65, as quoted by Camelot, p.122.

[68]See Robert V. Sellers, The Council of Chalcedon (London, 1953), p.131; Bowman, p.89. No serious study can be done today on the Council of Chalcedon without consulting the outstanding studies which appeared in three vols. under the title of Das Konzil von Chalkedon as cited in n. 59 above.

[69]Cf. Camelot, pp.123, 126 and 165-7.

[70]Cf. Philippe Labbe, Concilia, IV, col. 698 quoted by Hefele, ii, 2 pp.733-4, n. 3.

[71]Cf. Lebon, pp.13-14. Also G. Barielle, "Dioscore" in DTC IV. 2 cols. 1369-75.

[72]See William A. Wigram, The Separation of the Monophysites (London, 1923), p.13.

[73]Cf. Francis X. Murphy, Peter Speaks through Leo: The Council of Chalcedon (Washington, D.C., 1952), p.104 n. 9 and references therein.

[74]Cf. Murphy, pp. 104 and 108.

[75]See Jean Maspero, Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie (Paris, 1923), p.24 and pp.34-5.

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[76]Cf. Edward R. Hardy, Christian Egypt: Church and People. Christianity and Nationalism in the Patriarchate of Alexandria (New York, 1952), pp.113-4.

[77]See Downey, op. cit., p.527 f, p.489 and nn. 63-68.

[78]Cf. Wigram, op. cit., p.8. See the studies made under the general title: I patriarcati orientali nel primo millenio, in Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 181 (1968). / Special issue /.

[79]Cf. Francis Dvornik, Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy, two vols. (Washington, D.C, 1966). See particularly chs. X-XII of vol. II.

[80]Cf. Alexander Vasiliev, History of the Byzantine Empire, 2nd ed. (Madison, 1952), pp.155-6.

[81]Cf. Wright, Syr. Litt., pp.85-88.

[82]Cf. Karekin Sarkissian, The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church (London, 1965), pp.148-213.

[83]Cf. DeLacy O'Leary, The Ethiopian Church (London, 1936), pp.19-22; also Mario da Abiy-Addi, La dottrina della chiesa etiopica dissidente sull'unione ipostatica, in Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 147 (1956), / Special issue /.

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FOOTNOTES TO THE TEXT

[1]There were two bishops called John of Tella: the first one, object of this biography, is also known as John bar Cursus; he was a Monophysite and died in A.D. 538. The second one, also a Monophysite, is mentioned as the bishop who put his hands on Julian I who was elected to succeed, as a Monophysite patriarch of Antioch, Peter, who died in A.D. 591. Cf. Michael the Syrian, Chronicle, iii, ed. and French trans. with notes by Jean-Baptist Chabot (Paris, 1905; reprinted, Brussels, 1963), p. 449.

[2]Tella of Mauzelat is the ancient Anthemusias; the Romans called it Antoninopolis the Byzantines Constantia; modern Feranšehar, between Mardin and Edessa. Cf. Chabot's nn on the Chronicle of Michael the Syrian, I, p.72* Table Générale, s.v. especially I, p.267 and nn. 13, 14.

[3]Sergius and Paul seem to be two Monophysites of the upper-class people. They were the sponsors of Elias, the addressees of the Biography and the countrymen of John as shown in p.43, l. 20 of this translation.

[4]John, 8:32; Gal. 5:1.

[5]Besides being a disciple, or a companion of John, as shown in the Biography, pp.43, 106 f., we know nothing certain about Elias. Hendrick G. Kleyn, Het Leven van Johannes van Tella (Leiden, 1882), p.ix, thought him to be the one mentioned by John of Ephesus in his work De beatis orientalibus, ch. 30, in J. Land, Anecdota Syriaca, ii (Leiden, 1894), p.186. Wm. Wright, A Short History of Syriac Literature (London, 1894), p.82, leaves the matter with a question mark; but Ernest W. Brooks, Vitae virorum apud monophysitas celeberrimorum, in Corpus scriptorum Christianorum orientalium (CSCO), XXV, scriptores Syri, 7 and 8 (Paris, 1907), p.29 textus and p.21 versio, rejects Kleyn's idea.

[6]Certainly not "your adorer" as literally translated in Kleyn, p.xix, "uw vereeder," and E. Brooks, Vitae, p.23, "adorator vester." The metaphorical usage of the word in North-West Semitic Languages can be at least traced back to Tell el-Amarna (EA) times. Cf. EA, No. 147, and EA No. 298, trans. W. F. Albright and G. E. Mendenhall, in Ancient

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Near Eastern Texts (ANET), ed. James B. Pritchard (Princeton, 1955), pp.483-90. Sergius and Paul were the sponsors of Elias and were not proclaimed saints.

[7]Literally "in your spirit."

[8]II Tim. 3:15-15b.

[9]Gen. 12:1-3; 15:5b; Deut. 4:1; Heb. 11. Kleyn, op. cit., p.12 translates it literally "tongspitsen." Brooks, Vitae, p.23, also has "primitias linguarum."

[10]Col. 3:2.

[11]That is to say "the error."

[12]I Tim. 6:9.

[13]I Tim. 6:10 after the Peshitta version, hereafter P.

[14]Lit. "stoned."

[15]Lit. "I say."

[16]Rom. 9:29; Isa. 1:9, after P. Here P follows the Hebrew Masoretic text (MH): both have, ‏זֶרַע‎, ‏סַרְעָא‎ vs. The Septuagint (LXX), which has σπέρμα and The Vulgate (V) semen, the same word which Brooks, Vitae, p.24, uses.

[17]Phil. 4:1.

[18]Gen. 13:13.

[19] ‏ܚܛܝܢܐ ܒܝܫܐ‎ The adjective is in the masculine gender while the substantive is feminine.

[20]Eph. 2:20.

[21]After A and B.

[22]Lit. "according to my power."

[23]Lit. "it."

[24]Lit. "to be bishop in the city of Tella."

[25]Lit. "he became a disciple," for the novice monk must have an elder monk called "master" to supervise him in his monastic life.

[26]Lit. "the true bishops."

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[27]The heresy of Nestorius is discussed in n. 175 below.

[28]Cf. the following words written originally in Greek by the biographer of Daniel the Stylite: "Of these things which I have here written down, ..., I heard some, as I told you before, from those who were the Saint's disciples before me; others from trustworthy men ...; and yet others I heard myself when our good shepherd related them with his own mouth...." See Three Byzantine Saints, trans. E. Dawes and N. H. Baynes (Oxford, 1948), ch. 12, p.13. Daniel died in A.D. 493. This cliché explains the wide expansion of the hagiographical literature.

[29]Καλλινίκεος modern ar-Raqqah الرقة surrendered to the Persians in A.D. 503-4. Cf. Joshua the Stylite, Chronicle, trans. ed. W. Wright (Cambridge, 1882), pp.54-5. Ernest Honigmann, Évêques et évêchés monophysites (EEM) in CSCO, CXXVII (Louvain, 1941), p.51, gives the year A.D. 542.

[30]Lit. "lovers of aliens." Cf. I Tim. 3:2.

[31]I Cor. 2:13.

[32]For the usage of the demonstrative pronoun. Cf. Louis Costaz, Grammaire syriaque (Beirut, 1964), p.71, pars. 297-301.

[33]There is no anachronism here. It simply is by analogy that the Persian army was compared with the Assyrian army, because of its cruelty, world-famous on this account in ancient times. Cf. Jer. 25:11.

[34]Heb. 12:6. The RSV has "every son whom he receives." Cf. Heb. 12:8; Prov. 3:12.

[35]It is so in P; RSV has "have participated." Cf. Heb. 12:8.

[36]It is so in P; RSV has "illegitimate." Cf. Heb. 12:8; Prov. 13:24.

[37]So in the text. P says حكمتا Hebrew בְּמִשְׁפָּט Cf. Jer. 10:24.

[38]Ps. 23:4.

[39]Ps. 94:12[a].

[40]Ps. 36:6[b].

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[41]Job 9:12; Dan. 4:35.

[42]Ezek. 21:3.

[43]Luke 2:36-37.

[44]On the functions of the pedagogus or tutor Cf. Albert Harrent, Les écoles d'Antioche (Paris, 1898), pp.193-201; Paul Petit, Les étudiants de Libanius (Paris, 1957), p.68: H.-I. Marrou, Histoire de l'éducation dans l'Antiquité (Paris, 1948), pp.202-203 and passim.

[45]Luke 12:49.

[46]Or "care, concern."

[47]II Thess. 1:8.

[48]Ps. 27:11.

[49]Lit. "in what" or "by what."

[50]Ps. 119:9.

[51]Lam. 3:27.

[52]Σοῦρα, Syriac ܣܘܪܝܐ modern Sûrîyeh سوريه Cf. Joseph S. Assemani, Bibliotheca orientalis (BO), II (Rome, 1721), s.v.; Joshua the Stylite, Chronicle, p.60, n., Honigmann, EEM, p.71.

[53]Lit. "his will." By Synechdoche Cf. n. 72 below.

[54]Lit. "this", feminine demonstrative pronoun to substitute the neuter gender which does not have a linguistic marker in Syriac. Cf. Costaz, Grammaire, par. 504.

[55]Matt. 22:21; Mark 12:17; Luke 20:25; Rom. 13:7.

[56]Lit. "to walk."

[57]B. has "tied up to...."

[58]The very existence of Thecla is more legend than history. The Acta Pauli et Theclae are apocryphal, written probably about A.D. 180. However the Acta spread very widely in both East and West. Cf. F. G. Holweck, A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints (London, 1924), s.v. Thecla the "Apostolic", p.954, col. 2. Also Carl

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Schmidt, Acta Pauli, Übersetzung, Untersuchungen und koptischer Text (Leipzig, 1905), pp.145-61.

[59]Dan. 6:10. This translation is based on the verb ܨܠܝ Brooks, Vitae, p.43, l. 11; Kleyn, op. cit., p.18, l. 18.

[60]Lit. "the deed he was doing." The Semitic languages derive verbs from nouns very frequently and, whenever possible, they like to use them in one syntactic unit.

[61]John, after meeting with Abgar, undertakes a series of exercises of the monastic life. Prostrations were, as they still are among monks, a very respected sign of piety, penance and ascetic life; also they form part of the canonical hours. The councils have spoken about them since the fourth century; thus, the Council of Neo-Caesara (A.D. 314), canon 5; the Council of Nicea (A.D. 325), canon 11. Cf. J. D. Mansi, Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, II (Florence, 1759), cols. 540 and 673 respectively. Also Jean M. Besse, Les moines d'Orient antérieurs au concile de Chalcédoine (A.D. 451) (Paris, 1900), p.331 where St. Julian Sabbas (d. A.D. 532) is said to have prescribed them to his monks in Palestine; in p.334 there is a reference to St. Ephraim (d. A.D. 373) and to his writing about this custom among the Syrian monks. For a general survey Cf. "Génuflexion" in Dictionnaire d'archéologie Chrétienne et de liturgie, VI, ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq (Paris, 1924), s.v. col. 1017 ff. Hereafter DACL.

[62]The Syriac text says: "the psalms."

[63]That is to say "the word" or "answer", which is feminine in Syriac.

[64]The Syriac text has "of the world."

[65]John 2:16-17.

[66]Ps. 63:1.

[67]Rom. 12:1-2.

[68]II Tim. 2:4.

[69]II Tim. 2:22.

[70]Gal. 5:24.

[71]Lit. "and the sadness seized her."

[72]Cf. n. 53 above.

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[73]Lit. "he got the hair shorn." Whatever might have been in antiquity the origin of the habit of shaving the head, it is certain that from the fifth century A.D. on, the tonsure became (with the cloak) a distinctive sign of the monastic life. Cf. J. B. Besse, op. cit., p.138. A.-J. Festugière, Les moines d'Orient, IV, 1 (Paris, 1964), p.62, n. 370.

[74]I Tim. 5:5.

[75]Synechdoche in the trans. Lit. "her will conformed..."

[76]Lit. "in these lives." Cf. Hebrew חיים

[77]Col. 3:2-3.

[78]That is to say John of Tella. Cf. also n. 73 above.

[79]Cf. The Paradise of the Fathers I, 376. Cf. Margaret Smith, Studies in Early Mysticism in the Near and Middle East (London, 1931), p.16.

[80]A mixture of honey and vinegar.

[81]Lit. "from whom then this is guaranteed for us."

[82]Lit. "this", an anacoluthon.

[83]Lit. "he was ahead of them in all this."

[84]Lit. "to his pupils." Cf. also n. 93 below.

[85]The adjective may be supplemented by an adverb in Syriac. Cf. Costaz, Grammaire, par. 522, p.157.

[86]Κερβικάριον : a pillow.

[87]The liturgical day for all the Eastern Churches, like the Jewish one, is from the sunset of the previous day until the sunset of the holiday itself. The Prime or Matines is the daybreak hour (at about 4 a.m.); the Third hour would be then at about 7 a.m. Cf. F. C. Conybeare and A. J. Maclean, Rituale Armenorum (Oxford, 1905), p.468; George P. Badger, The Nestorians and their Rituals, ii (London, 1852), p.16.

[88]Also called Sext. Concerning these ascetic exercises of John cf. n. 28 above.

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[89]I Sam. 16:12; Heb. 11:23; Ex. 2:2.

[90]Lit. "about all those which it should be asked about."

[91]Lit. "he read."

[92]Lit. "the belt of his thighs."

[93]Lit. "the pupils"/ of his eyes_/by Synechdoche. Cf. also n. 84 above.

[94]Lit. "his word full of benefits."

[95]Anastasius the first, reigned A.D. 491-518; in his religious policy, he openly sided with Monophysitism. The biographer, without mentioning their names, alludes first of all and mainly, to Justin the Elder (518-27), and then to Justinian the Great (527-65) as a continuator of his uncle's policy. Both "definitely favored the Roman/ Chalcedonian_/Church and renewed friendly relations with it," at the expense of all other sects. Cf. Alexander A. Vasiliev, History of the Byzantine Empire, I (Madison, 1964), p.149; also pp.130 and 150. Hereafter HBE.

[96]Lit. "was made heard of to them."

[97]Lit. "to leave him."

[98]Here the text is corrupted in all of the three manuscripts. It seems though, that the idea is in Matt. 10:28; Luke 12:5.

[99]Lit. "according to those/ things_/for which they are thirsty."

[100]Lit. "in it," that is to say, in telling him these things.

[101]Lit. "they show the face."

[102]or have pity.

[103]Lit. "mixed-up, confused."

[104]or "irreligious" as RSV translates Greek βέβηλος Cf. Heb. 12:16 in both LXX and P.

[105]To neglect to," is used here in a technical meaning: to be negligent, careless to carry on the duties

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of the ascetic life. It has an exact Greek equivalent in the verb ὀλιγωρέω and Latin verbs animo delinquere, deficere. For similar usage in religious texts, Cf. A.-J. Festugière, Les moines d'Orient, IV 1, p.17, line 186 and footnote therein.

[106]Ps. 69:2, Heb. מַעֲמָד

[107]I Tim. 3:2.

[108]I Cor. 1:8; also Titus 1:6.

[109]Titus 1:7.

[110]Rom. 2:16.

[111]Elliptic sentence in Syriac.

[112]same as n. 111 above.

[113]I John 2:6; 4:17.

[114]Paul is called "The Apostle" par excellence.

[115]I Cor. 11:1.

[116]The proclitic ܕ here is a preposition that introduces the direct speech and it corresponds to our colon. Cf. Costaz, Grammaire, par. 496 and n. 2.

[117]The flock. John 10:11.

[118]Gal. 5:25[b]; Gal. 2:20.

[119]I Pet. 2:11. Notice here the switch to the singular.

[120]Lit. "long in his spirit."

[121]Titus 1:7.

[122]I Pet. 1:18; I Cor. 6:20 and 7:23.

[123]Lit. "many of them."

[124]The custom of ordaining bishops in normal cases on Sundays and solemn holidays is still alive among both Catholic and non-Catholic Christians the world over. Cf. George P. Badger, The Nestorians and their Rituals, ii (London, 1852), p.340; Acacius Coussa, Epitome praelectionum de jure Ecclesiae Orientali, I (Grottaferrata,

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1948), Canon 255 and historical references in footnote; Codex Juris Canonici, ed. with commentaries Petrus Cardinal Gasparri (Rome, 1917), Canon 1006, 1 and footnotes.

[125]Baṭnān, or Baṭnai, Sarūgh, Baṭnān dsarūgh, Βάτναι was a sufraganean bishopric of Ėdessa in the Osrohene Province. Jacob is the well-known Syrian writer, poet and hymnologist. When his town surrendered to the Persian cavalry in A.D. 503, Jacob was a periodeutes. Cf. Joshua the Stylite, Chronicle, pp.43, 54. His astonishing knowledge was thought to be acquired not by human means but as a gift the Holy Ghost bestowed on him. Cf. Michael the Syrian, Chronicle, ii, p.161, col. 2. Because of his pious life and outstanding learning he was appointed and ordained Bishop of Baṭnān-Sarūgh in A.D. 519. Perhaps because of his ambiguous religious attitudes, he remained in his see until he died in A.D. 521, undisturbed by Justin's banishing decree; for this same reason, scholars do not agree as to whether he was Chalcedonian or Monophysite. Cf. Paul al-Sim'ānī, Tarih al-Adāb al-Suryaniyah, ii (Junieh, Lebanon, 1936), pp. 92-119 (in Arabic); Anton Baumstark, Geschichte der syrischen Literatur (Bonn, 1922), pp.147-58; J.-B. Chabot, Littérature Syriaque (Paris, 1900), pp.352-56; Ernest Honigmann, EEM, pp.52-53, W. Wright, A Short History of Syriac Literature, (London, 1894), pp.67-72. All of them have bibliographies.

[126]Lit. "if there is to him a pleasure and a will," a hendiadys.

[127]Lit. "and the one who was with him."

[128]Lit. "to the laying of the hand of/for episcopacy," a synechdoche. Cf. I Tim. 4:14. The laying of the hands is thought to be the formal element in the ordination ceremony; by it the sacrament is conferred.

[129]Lit. "of there."

[130]Lit. "quickly, swiftly."

[131]Justin the Elder (A.D. 518-27) reached the throne, in spite of his low birth (he was a herdsman), thanks to the Nobility and the Blue's party support. These two forces were Chalcedonians,as he himself was too; also there were the so-called Constantinopolitan Monks and a large number of the citizens of the imperial city who were terse Chalcedonians as well. These last ones assembled in great numbers in Saint Sophia Cathedral on Sunday, July 15, 518, six days after Justin's elevation

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to the throne and they welcomed the solemn entrance of Patriarch John II and his clergy with a stormy manifestation and loud shouts, hailing the Emperors and the Patriarch and demanding that the Council of Chalcedon be proclaimed, that Severus be anathematized, that "the names of the Patriarchs Euphemius and Macedonius and Pope Leo, as well as the names of the Four Ecumenical Councils" be written on the diptychs and that all those Chalcedonians, clergy and laymen, "who had been expelled for their religious doctrine be recalled ... and be returned to their former order and position." This situation lasted two days. On July 20, 518, the Patriarch summoned a Synod which was held in the capital. Forty-three or forty-four bishops attended its sessions and, finding the demands right and reasonable, they decreed they be accepted, and that the Patriarch confirm them and send them to the Emperor for ratification and enactment, which was carried out literally under the advice of Justinian, Vitalian, Ephraim of Amida and the keen interests of Justin "to resume normal relations with Rome as soon as possible." The officials carried out the imperial orders in the provinces. Cf. Alexander Vasiliev, Justin the First (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), pp.136-48, 223, 227 and passim. The author has excellent references in the footnotes.

[132]Phil. 2:2.

[133]Hendiadys.

[134]Metathesis in the syriac word ܒܠܥ for ܒܥܠ.

[135]Chalcedon Χαλκηδών, Χαλκις, modern Kadikōi, a suburb of Istanbul), was a small seaport city at the time of the Fourth Ecumenical Council in A.D. 451 which was held in the Church of St. Euphemia. Cf. Real-Encyclopadie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, ed. Pauly-Wissowa, X (Stuttgart, 1919), s.v. cols. 1555-59.

[136]That is to say that in the one and the same Christ there are two natures (the human and the divine) united in the divine person and yet keeping, each one of the two, its own properties after the union as they were before. Cf. Mansi, op. cit., vii, p.116 - Latin text, p.117 - Greek text; David J. Bowman, The Word Made Flesh (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1963), p.89.

[137]Leo I, surnamed the Great, reigned on the See of Rome between A.D. 440-61. The Tome is a dogmatic letter which he sent to bishop Flavian of Constantinople, June 13, 449. Leo teaches in it diophysitism. Cf.

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J.-M. Migne, Patrologia latina (PL), LIV (Paris, 1881), cols. 755-81, bilingual Greco-Latin text. A French translation of it is in P.-Th. Camelot, Éphèse et Chalcédoine (Paris, 1962), pp.216-23.

[138]For similar attitudes of other monophysites cf. Documenta ad origines monophysitarum illustrandas, ed. trans. J.-B. Chabot, CSCO, xxxvii, Script. Syr. 2 (Louvaine, 1933), pp.405 and 20: Epistle of Theodosius Patriarch of Alexandria to Severus A.D. 535; p.75, Epistle of Paul, Patriarch of Antioch to Theodosius of Alexandria; p.121, Epistle of the Monks to bishop Jacob, etc.

[139]From δίς : "twice," and πτύσσω: "to double up, to fold." The diptychs were a hinged two-leaves tablet for writing which by folding together, protected the writing on the thin layer of wax from being damaged. In the Christian liturgy, they became exclusively "the lists of names of living and departed Christians for whom special prayer is made / during the / Eucharistic Liturgies. Though now read secretly, the diptychs were formerly recited publicly, and the inclusion or exclusion of a name was held to be a sign of communion or excommunion". Cf. The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, ed. F. L. Cross (London, 1957), s.v. More details and plates in DACL, iv. 1. s.v.

[140]This same Sophronius has been anathematized once before along with Patriarch Flavian of Constantinople and others by Dioscorus himself during the so-called the Robber Synod of Ephesus in 449. Cf. Chronica minora: Chronicon Edessenum, ed. I. Guidi, CSCO, IV, Script. Syr. 3 (Paris, 1903), p.75 ff.

[141]Lit. "the children of his agreement, concord," etc. Hence: Partisans.

[142]Lit. "the will."

[143]Although it is possible to translate this sentence with the passive voice as Brooks does (p.37, l. 10), however Syriac prefers the 3rd impersonal of the passive voice for a personal number in the active voice. Cf. Costaz, Grammaire, par. 634. Manuscript B has ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, which corroborates this grammatical rule and justifies my translation. Cf. reference in Brooks' edition, p.56, n. 3, textus.

[144]Lit. "from him."

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[145]Act. 5:29. For the grammar Cf. n. 143 above.

[146]Lit. "the church", by metonymy.

[147]Lit. "its purity, pudicity."

[148]Solecism in the Syriac text: the two adjectives must be feminine gender since the substantive they qualify, "city," is feminine. Cf. Rubens Duval, Traité de Grammaire Syriaque (Paris, 1881), p.392, par. 416.

[149]During the annual fair of each city, a variety of activities would take place like horse racing, plays, dancers' shows, etc.

[150]We do not have the authentic text of this edict; however, many ancient historical documents refer to a similar edict concerning the military men who, to qualify to enroll in the army, had to be Orthodox Christians, that is to say Chalcedonians. Cf. George Cedrenus, Compendium historiarum, I, ed. E. Bekker, in Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae, XXXIV (Bonn, 1838), p.642, ll.17-19 and p.647, ll. 3-7, referring to Justinian policy; Michael the Syrian, Chronicle, ii, p.180; A. Vasiliev, Justin, pp.241-243. If Justin expected that much from the soldiers, he expected much more from the clergy, against the dissidents of which he had no need but to enforce the edicts of his predecessor Marcian who ratified the Council of Chalcedon with three decrees. Cf. Mansi, op. cit., vii, col. 475 ff; Karl J. Hefele, Histoire des conciles, II, 2, trans. H. Leclercq (Paris, 1908), pp.844-45.

See also the important details given by John of Ephesus as published by Jan P. N. Land, in Anecdota Syriaca, ii (Leiden, 1968), pp.169-77 (in Syriac).

[151]Heb. 11:25.

[152]Lit. "the position or state of being the head of." Undoubtedly John of Tella was thinking here of Proterius of Alexandria and Juvenal of Jerusalem who abandoned their principles in order to secure the patriarchate. Cf. E. Honigmann, "Juvenal of Jerusalem," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, V (Cambridge, Mass. 1950), pp.211-79; William A. Wigram, The Separation of the Monophysites (London, 1923), pp.16-17.

[153]Lit. "came in" or "entered to his place."

[154]Lit. "their will" by metonymy.

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[155]Lit. "prisons, jails" in general.

[156]John 21:15-17 after P.

[157]II Tim. 1:8.

[158]Ibid., 2:3.

[159]Ibid., 2:15.

[160]Ibid., 4:5.

[161]To comply with the Scriptures, with the canons of the Ecumenical Councils and with other ecclesiastical laws. Cf. I Tim. 5:22; Titus 1:6; the Council of Nicea (A.D. 325), Canon 9 in Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta, ed. Centro di Documentazione (Freiburg, Germany, 1972), pp.9-10; the Canons of the Apostles 16-24 in Mansi, op. cit., I cols. 31-34 (Greek and Latin); the Council of Sardes (A.D. 347), Canon 19 in Mansi, op. cit., iii, cols. 29-30.

[162]These letters were equivalent to two categories which are related but yet different from each other, that exist today in Canon Law; they are called "Letters of request," and "Dimissory Letters." Cf. The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, ed. F. L. Cross (London, 1957), s.v. "Letters."

The Councils, in order to curb the surplus of unnecessary clergy and to avoid confusion in canonical matters, ordered that every bishop ordain his own clergy, as suited the needs of his diocese, and that other bishops could not do so, unless legally commissioned. Cf. The Council of Sardes, canon 19 in Mansi as in footnote 161 above.

John of Ephesus gives more details about this point. Cf. Land, op. cit., pp.172-73.

[163]Because receiving Holy Communion implies the holding of the same faith.

[164]Lit. "and to that which /is/ his."

[165]A technical term of the Byzantine Chancery. That safe-conduct was issued in order to enable the Monophysite bishops until then outlawed to go to the meeting called "Collatio," to be held in Constantinople in 531. Cf. Mansi, op. cit., viii, cols. 817-23. For the meaning of the word cf. Du Cange, op. cit., s.v.; also Franz Dölger, Byzantinische Diplomatik (Munich, 1956), pp.58-9.

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[166]Acts. 5:29.

[167]Justinian the Great and Empress Theodora. Particularly Theodora (d. A.D. 548), showed much sympathy for the Monophysites. Cf. A. Vasiliev, HBE, p.132; L. Duchesne, "Les protégés de Théodora," Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, XXXV (1915), 57-79.

[168]On the use of the passive voice for the active cf. n. 143 above.

[169]Solecism, for the antecedent of the pronoun is not mentioned at all in the Syriac text.

[170]Lit. "nor by his hands nor by the hands of...."

[171]Although the biographer's intention was to show the heroic stand of the bishops of his church, yet, without intending it, he confirms what other historical sources say about the Emperor's preference to adopt a rather mild line in his religious policy with the heretics instead of severe persecution, as Vasiliev pointed out in giving as an example the letter of Justinian to Pope Hormisdas in A.D. 520, while still he was an assistant to his uncle Justin the Elder. Cf. Vasiliev, HBE, pp. 130-31 and pp.150-52.

[172]Lit. "and there was a thought for them." Cf. n. 143 above for the grammatical structure.

[173]Emperor Anastasius I (A.D. 491-518), made of the little village of Dârā a large and fortified city, established in it a garrison and called it Anastasiopolis. That was in A.D. 506-7. Cf. Joshua the Stylite, Chronicle, p.70. Thomas Bar ʿAbdiya from Rîš ʿainā was its second bishop. Thomas was banished from his see in 519, "on account of his zeal for the belief." He died in exile in A.D. 535. Beside being a learned bishop, Thomas was a scientist very much interested in physics. Cf. E. Honigmann, EEM, pp. 103-4 and nn. 4 and 3 respectively.

[174]Lit. "goodnesses."

[175]Nestorius was Archbishop of Constantinople from A.D. 428 to 431. For him Christ was two things, and each thing (phýsis) was complete in itself, existing by itself but in combination somehow in the one Christ. Mary was "Christotókos," she was not "theotókos." At times Nestorius seemed to mean that Christ's union with the Word was only a matter of conforming his human will perfectly to the divine will. This would make him the

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greatest saint ever, but again, not God." See D. Bowman, op. cit., pp.83-4. By calling Nestorius "worshipper of man," (an expression taken from Athanasius' letter Ad Adelphium, 3; cf. also Contra Arianos ii, 16), the Monophysites had this authority in mind. Nestorius was condemned and deposed in the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431). He died in exile in Egypt in A.D. 451. Cf. E. Amann, "Nestorius," in Dictionnaire de théologie catholique (DTC), XI, 1, cols. 76-157; Martin Jugie, Nestorius (Paris, 1912), pp.55-61; François Nau, Nestorius d'après les sources orientales (Paris, 1911), pp.13-22.

Furthermore, it is necessary to understand that, contrary to what the Monophysite text seems to indicate, Nestorius is not the founder of the Church that was later called the Nestorian Church. The more formal and older title of this church is the Church of the East, because of the fact that its Syriac-speaking members lived in the northeastern part of the Euphrates Valley and in Persia. Since most of their clergy were educated at the School of Edessa where Theodorus of Mopsuestia, the true founder of Nestorianism was followed as the Magister of this school, then it follows that the same opinions of the School were preached in the East. In other words, the ideas of the Church of the East and those of Nestorius, also a disciple of Theodorus, coincide because they sprang from the same source: Theodorus of Mopsuestia. Due to this doctrinal basis, in later times, namely since Babai, Patriarch of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, A.D. 487-502, the "Nestorian theology was to be the basis" of the Church of the East in matters of doctrine. Cf. A. R. Vine, The Nestorian Churches (London, 1937), pp.21-2, 37, 186, and passim. E. Amann, DTC, XI, 1, col. 157 ff.

[176]Cyrrhos, is the ancient biblical חָרָן, the homeland of Abraham, Gen. 11:31-32, 12:4-5; 24; Akkadian Ḫarrānu: road; LXX Χαρραν Arabic حران. It is by the Baliḫ River, southeast of Edessa in North Mesopotamia (Today in Turkey Eski-Ḫarrān). Ḫarrān was famous for its lunar cult and for being an active place of commerce at the crossroads between Babylon, Syria, Asia Minor, and Egypt. Cf. Ezek. 27:23. Sergius I, referred to here, was present at the consecration of Severus and his address at Daphne. Severus himself mentions him in some of his letters. Cf. Severus of Antioch, Epistulae, ed. tr. E. W. Brooks, in Patrologia orientalis (henceforth PO), XII and XIV (Paris, 1919, 1920), I, 38 and I, 59.

It seems that the major part of the population of the city was Chalcedonian, and opposed to Monophysitism as Philoxenus of Mabbogh (d. A.D. 519) indicated in his letter to the monks of Senun. Sergius was banished

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from his see in A.D. 519 by the decree of Justin I and he lived for a while, along with Marion of Sûrā, somewhere in the East, perhaps as guests of a monastic group. Sergius was one of those eight bishops who were with John of Tella in Constantinople where he took part in the "Collatio" of A.D. 532. Cf. E. Honigmann, EEM, pp. 68-71, n. 2.

[177]For information about the city cf. n. 52 above. Marion, as a Monophysite bishop, was banished from his see in 519. Cf. n. 176 above. He attended the ceremonies of Severus' consecration and allocution in Daphne. Severus mentions him in the same letters he mentions Sergius. He died in exile c. A.D. 536. Cf. E. Honigmann, EEM, p.71.

[178]Circusius Κίρχεσίου; Nunnus was one of the banished Monophysite bishops of the 519 edict; he took part in the "Collatio" of 532 and died in exile in A.D. 535. Cf. E. Honigmann, EEM, pp.53-54.

[179]The Syriac text says: "they were" without mentioning the predicate; but it repeats the subject of the verb once more: "those who were sent for."

[180]I.e. Persia.

[181]Lit. "in martyrdom."

[182]Lit. "other regions," "places."

[183]Lit. "its servants."

[184]Julian was expelled from his see by Justin's decree in A.D. 519 and he went to Egypt. He taught that the body of Christ was incorruptible even before the resurrection. Although Julian was a Monophysite, Severus opposed him because of this doctrine. Each of the contendents wrote books to defend his opinion and to refute the other's, and each one of them had followers who sided with him. Severus and his followers called disdainfully Julian and his followers "phantasiasts" and aphthartodocetists", while Julian and his supporters called the Severians "phthartolatrists." One of Julian's bishops, Eutropus, ordained ten bishops and he sent them "to Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Arabia, Persia, the Ḥimyarites' country, Sophena, Arzon and Armenia. One of them, Sergius, went to Ḥirta dhe-Beth Nuʿumān"; their doctrine spread even farther: to India, Kuš (Ethiopia) and Albania. Emperor Justinian the Great became a Julianist in the last years of his life and through an

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edict he issued in A.D. 564 or 565 (he died the 13th of November, 565), he declared that the body of Christ was incorruptible and he wanted all the bishops of the empire to subscribe to this doctrine. Julian must have died before 528. Cf. R. Draguet, Julien d'Halicarnasse et sa controverse avec Sévère d'Antioche (Louvain, 1924), pp.8, 145-56; Honigmann, EEM, pp.125-31.

[185]A has one line and one word more than C, which, because of a conflict with the verb that follows, seem to be additions of a later edition. Cf. Kleyn, op. cit., p.43, ll.4-5.

[186]Beside this notice we know nothing about those letters.

[187]Lit. "the measure." But undoubtedly here it has a figurative sense.

[188]After C as in Brooks, p.63, n. 5 (Syriac).

[189]The Julianites were also sometimes called "Manicheans," "Gaianites," or "Phantasiasts." Cf. M. Jugie, "Julien d'Halicarnasse et Sévère d'Antioche," Échos d'Orient, XXIV (1925), 129.

[190]Both Manuscripts A and C have ܕܡܬܥܬܝܐ "of the deceived ones," as Brooks translates it, "deceptorum" in p.41, l. 3 end. But surely it is a dittography and it must be read ܕܥܬܝܐ, as Kleyn corrects it in p.43, n. 9 and translates it "der Arabieren," p.liii, l. 13. In many instances the Syrian writers call the Arabs interchangeably ܬܐܝܐ and ܥܬܝܐ . Cf. Joshua the Stylite, Chronicle, Index s.v. p.78; Michael the Syrian, Chronicle, I Table générale,s.v. p.8*, col. 2. The reference here is to Munzir the 3rd (d. A.D. 554). Cf. Ph. Hitti, History of the Arabs (London, 1937), p.79.

[191]Neither the interjectional character of this sentence, nor its grammatical structure have been understood by Brooks, cf. Vitae, p.41 and n. 1. The same thing applies to Kleyn, op. cit., p. LIIIf. But cf. Costaz, Grammaire, par. 634 as in n. 143 above.

[192]Lit. "many lines."

[193]Rom. 12:11. Notice the inverted order vis-à-vis the New Testament text as it is in P and LXX.

[194]Ibid., 12:12. Same observation as n. 193 above.

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[195]Rom. 12:9.

[196]Ibid., 13:14.

[197]I Cor. 3:9.

[198]Cf. II Cor. 6:3.

[199]Eph. 4:29.

[200]Philip 2:3.

[201]I Tim. 4:12.

[202]Gal. 3:1. Notice the usage of the infinitive absolute for emphasis and compare with other Semitic Languages.

[203]II Tim. 2:3.

[204]Since Bishop John ordained ministers frequently, and since he repeated these exhortations again and again, I translated it with the English "used to."

[205]Lit. "from them."

[206]Hendiadys.

[207]That is to say, according to the Rubrics of the Missal B. says "according to the beautiful rubric," a paraphrase which Kleyn accepts in his text. Cf. Ibid., p.46, l. 6 (Syriac) and p. LV, l. 16 "dien schoonen kanon."

[208]Ephraim, Patriarch of Antioch (A.D. 527-545) was one of the most influential figures in the policy-making of Emperors Justin the First (A.D. 518-27) and his nephew and heir Justinian the Great (A.D. 527-65). He was born in Amid (modern Diyār-Bikr), presumably of Syrian origin, for Patriarch Photius of Constantinople (d. A.D. 891), in his Bibliotheca, calls him a Syrian "Σύρος." Cf. Migne, Patrologia graeca (PG), Ciii, cols. 957-1024. Because of his exceptional qualities, both Emperors entrusted him with the highest ranks and difficult missions. First, he was appointed "Prefect of Constantinople" in times of civil war where "by great efforts and severity he put an end to civil war among the citizens, made feuds to cease, and established peace" says John, Bishop of Nikiu in his Chronicle as quoted by Vasiliev, Justin the First, p.123. Next Ephraim was appointed "Comes sacrarum largitionum," i.e. the Secretary of the Treasury and Taxation of the Empire, and afterward for three times,

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between 522 and 527, he was "Comes Orientis," i.e. the Civil Administrator with large military and civil powers over all the officers of Syria and Palestine. The headquarters of the Comes Orientis were in Antioch. Ephraim's success in handling the problems of Antioch in the fire and earthquake disasters in 526 and 527 respectively, on the one hand, and his Chalcedonian orthodoxy, on the other, won him the respect and the attachment of most of the Antiochians. When Patriarch Euphresius was killed in the earthquake of A.D. 527, Comes Ephraim was elected by the clergy and the people of Antioch to succeed him. Justin and Justinian approved the election. (The promotion of a layman from a high military or civil service office to the episcopacy was not a novelty at that time. For more details and bibliography, cf. A. Vasiliev, Justin the First, p.123 and n. 26.) Just as when he was Comes Orientis, and even more after he became Patriarch, Ephraim decided to stamp out Monophysitism. In 536 a provincial council was held in Constantinople and it passed new and more urging resolutions against the Monophysites. Thereupon, Ephraim with imperial edict and some soldiers, undertook in the winter of 536 a "descent" into northern Syria and the East. It is presumably during this tour of Ephraim that John was arrested and brought before Ephraim while he was visiting Rîś ʿainā. For details of this "tour", cf. E. Honigmann, EEM, p.149.

Ephraim was hailed by his Chalcedonian supporters as one inflamed by a "holy zeal" and a "pious man." Cf. Theophanes, Chronographia, ed. Karl De Boor, I (Hildesheim, 1963), p.173, 21-23; J. Malalas, Chronicle, ed. L. Dindorf in Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae (Bonn, 1831), pp.423-24. However, his enemies considered him "a worse persecutor than either Paul or Euphrasius," his predecessors. Cf. John of Ephesus, Eccl. Hist., trans. R. Payne Smith (Oxford, 1860), p.79.

Fragments of Ephraim's theological writings show that he was well acquainted with the theological sources up to his day. Cf. O. Bardenhewer, Geschite der altkirchl. Literature, V (Freiburg-i-Bres., 1932), pp.17-18.

For more information on Ephraim cf. Glanville Downey, "Ephraemius Patriarch of Antioch," Church History, vii (1938), pp.364-70; A. Vasiliev, Justin, pp. 122-24.

[209] After A which, by making it an adverb clause, resolves the syntactical difficulty of this paragraph in C. Cf. Brooks' conjecture in his Vitae, p.42, n. 2 (Versio).

[210] Hendiadys.

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[211]Lit. "as his will."

[212]Lit. "by his descent."

[213]"The title of Marzban," says Payne Smith, "is exactly equivalent to the German Markgraf, and English Marquis, and signifies Lord or Warden of the Marches, or borderlands." See R. Payne Smith in John of Ephesus, Eccl. Hist., p.121, n.s ; F. Steingrass, A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary (London, 1930, 2nd edition), s.v.

[214]Or Nisībis of the Persians. Cf. French Guinae, the Belgian Congo, British Somalia. Nisībīs was almost continually in Persian hands after Emperor Jovian's treaty in A.D. 363. Cf. Joshua the Stylite, Chronicle, p.7.

[215]A nickname given in the district of Antioch and in other places as well, to the Gendarmerie. Cf. Ernest Stein, Histoire du Bas-Empire, II (Paris, 1949), p.32, n. 1, p.245, p.465, n. 3.

[216]Very probably a garment of a particular color or the caduceus. Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq (A.D. 792?-873) wore a belt. Cf. Ibn Juljul, Tabaqāt al-Aṭibbā' wal-Ḥukamā' (Cairo, 1955), p.69.

[217]Lit. "that saint" ... But there is evidence that the usage of the two originally distinct types of demonstratives: this /that, became quite loose and they freely interchanged: cf. Kleyn, op. cit., p.48, l. 7, but id. l. 14; Brooks, Vitae, p.66, l. 22, but p.67, l. 7.

[218]Cf. n. 184 above.

[219]A metaphor borrowed from the language of the Greek Gymnasium.

[220]A and B have ܡܘܡܚܐ =the monk while C has ܡܣܝܐ =the tested, proved one. This is very important for textual and literary criticism, to establish the relationship of the three extant Manuscripts to each other, and for literary history, i.e. for "the expression in literature / sic / of a people during a period of time, in a place, and usually in a specified language." See Robert E. Spiller, "Literary History," The Aims and Methods of Scholarship in Modern Languages and Literature, ed. James Thorpe (New York, 1963), p.43. For the Syriac forms of A and B, see Kleyn, op. cit., p.49, l. 7; for C see Brooks, Vitae, p.67, l. 19.

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[221]Hendiadys.

[222]Cf. Medieval Latin--comes = a count, commander.

[223]The Persian officer is called here Assyrian in a sense analogical to the biblical usage: as the Assyrians were the enemies of Israel, so the Persians were the enemies of the Romans; the cruelty of the Persians was no less than that of the Assyrians. John of Ephesus called them "Assyrians" too, after their conquest of Dârâ (A.D. 566). Cf. John of Ephesus, Eccl. Hist., p.385 and Payne-Smith's footnote there; also n. 33 above.

[224]Lit. "those."

[225] Νεομανία . Cf. Thomas Gaisford, Etymologicum magnum, (Oxford, 1848), s.v.

[226]February-March.

[227]Hendiadys.

[228]A omits the direct object; it says "but found not." Cf. Kleyn, op. cit., p.51, l. 20 end. Brooks sees a trace left of the suffix pronoun in C, which he reconstructs. Cf. Brooks, Vitae, p.69, l. 24 and n. 7.

[229]All the Manuscripts have "to the necks". But this is evidently an error, since the general practice among cavalrymen was to tie the leash of the horse to the ankle of the soldier when the troupes were resting. The word in Greek for the ball of the ankle joint is ἀστράγαλος . By Synechdoche it means also: "the wrist; one of the vertebrae especially of the neck,"etc. Thus apparently the Syrian writer did not know but only one meaning of it: the last one, and when the Romans used the word ἀστράγαλος in such instance as to mean "ankles," the Syrian understood it as if it meant "necks"! Cf. Henry G. Lidell and Robert Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon, ed. H. S. Jones and Roderick McKenzie (Oxford, 1968) s.v.

[230]After A. C has the plural: "they assigned..."

[231]Lit. "for the water of his feet," a euphemistic idiom.

[232]That is to say, the Marzban.

[233]Hendiadys.

[234]Hendiadys.

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[235]Lit. "I request, demand, ask."

[236]Lit. "from before him."

[237]A has the rare form Aph'al أمحلى.

[238]Lit. "to our place."

[239]Lit. "without us."

[240]Lit. "recently." For the grammatical form of this adverb cf. Rubens Duval, Traité de Grammaire Syriaque (Paris, 1881), par. 295 end.

[241]The text says, "as you are seeing me."

[242]John refers here to the treaty which "in 532 Emperor Justinian and the Persian King of Kings, Chrosroes I Anushirvan (A.D. 531-79), signed...which provided for an 'everlasting' peace together with the Byzantine payment of tribute to the Persian Empire." See George Ostrogorsky, History of the Byzantine State, trans. J. Hussey (Oxford, 1956), p.65; A. Vasiliev, HBE, I, p.135.

[243]Cf. pp.79-80 of the translation.

[244]Lit. "And from what is for others I was receiving."

[245]Lit. "as that in the world." But undoubtedly, the Paulinian idea in Titus 3:1 is what is meant by this elliptic sentence.

[246]Lit. "all that."

[247]Cf. Ephraim Syrus, Carmina Nisibina, iii, 97, ed. G. Bickell (Leipzig, 1866), دمعو لحمس حورها "comparable to the Holy Spirit," as cited by Payne Smith, Thesaurus, s.v.

[248]Lit. "And those who hate me." An elliptic sentence.

[249]The Magi, according to Herodotus, I, 101, were one of the six tribes of the Mede people. The Magi's tribe is compared to the tribe of Levi in ancient Israel, since the priests of ancient Persia were of this tribe. They became very influential when the Sassanide dynasty (A.D. 224-729), made the Avesta Religion, which is that of the Magi, the State religion. "Si tous les prêtres étaient des Mages, tous les Mages n'étaient pas nécessairement prêtres." See Émile Benveniste, Les Mages dans

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l'ancien Iran, Publications de la Société des Études Iraniennes, 15 (Paris, 1938), p.18; also cf. Clément Huart, Louis Delaporte et P. Masson-Oursel, L'Iran antique (Paris, 1952), pp.181, 381-82.

[250]Cf. شاهانه منداه in modern Persian.

[251]Lit. "from him." I made the substitution in order to avoid the use of the same pronoun "him" twice in a row.

[252]Dârā was the first important city in the Byzantine territory next to Nisībis which was already within the Persian territory. Cf. n. 173 above. Mamma was a Chalcedonian bishop. Cf. Marcellinus Comes, Chronica, ed. Theodor Mommsen in Monumenta Germaniae historica. Auctores antiquissimi, vol. xi, Chronica minora, IV (Berlin, 1894), p.105.

[253]Rîš ʿainā, راس عين, is also called Callirhoe and Theodosiopolis, after Emperor Theodosius the Great had restored it in A.D. 381: it "lies about seventy miles to the southeast of Edessa, and was one of the most considerable cities of Mesopotamia." See John of Ephesus, Eccl. Hist., p.407, footnote by R. Payne-Smith. The last Monophysite bishop of the city we hear of about that time was Peter, to whom Severus wrote a letter. Peter was expelled from his see around A.D. 519, and he was one of those who participated in the "Collatio" of Constantinople in 532. Cf. Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum, ed. E. Schwartz, iv, vol. 2 (Leipzig and Berlin, 1943), p.169; Honigmann, EEM, pp.104-5.

[254]Lit. "many Romans."

[255]Brooks, Vitae, p.47, l. 36, translates: "Quare non vitam privatam agis ut socii tui?"! "Why do you not lead a private life like your companions?"

[256]Lit. "When there is confusion."

[257]Lit. "the accuracy, exactitude of the canons". John meant that the laws must be observed as long as the circumstances in which they were written and the goals for which they were written were substantially the same; however, if a major or a radical change occurred that altered any of the constituent elements of the laws, then the laws became automatically void and nil. Then the dictates of conscience became the rule. The Monophysites denied the legality of the Council of Chalcedon; it was rather a novelty, a heresy in the Church, and themselves,

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as truly orthodox, had the right and the obligation to uproot the heresy and reestablish the unity and the order in the Church, as the predecessor Fathers did in their own times.

[258]Samosata, Ar. ܫܡܝܫܛ, "Syriae Comagenae ad Euphratem urbs clarissima." Cf. Assemani, BO, II, s.v.; Honigmann, EEM, p.75; Joshua the Stylite, Chronicle, p.46, n. 4. Eusebius suffered martyrdom under the Arian Emperor Valens (364-78), who persecuted both the Semi-Arians and the Athanasians. Cf. Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church, III (New York, 1950), p.638. There is an unpublished "Life" of Eusebius in the British Museum. Cf. W. Wright, Cat., iii, 1127, Number 18.

[259]Ariminites. Cf. J. P. Margoliouth, Supplement to the Thesaurus Syriacus (Oxford, 1927), s.v. with references.

The Ariminites were the bishops who signed the Creed of the Council of Rimini (Ariminum) in Italy, A.D. 359. The formula of this creed was ambiguous and it rather contained Arian connotations in as much as it discarded the Nicean formula which said that "the Son is of the same nature (ousía) of the Father" and it replaced it by saying, "The Son is similar (omoion) to the Father." Cf. K. J. Hefele, Histoire des conciles, I. 2 (Paris, 1907), pp.929-55; Synodicon orientale, ed. trans. J.-B. Chabot (Paris, 1902), p.394, n. 2.

The evidence presented here with reference to the Syriac sources concerning the meaning of the Syriac word ܐܪܝܘܡܢܝܐ puts an end to the false interpretations given by Bar Bahlul's Lexicon as "the Ariomanicheans", or by Ernest Brooks in his Index to the Historia ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori, II in CSCO, LXXXVIII. Scriptores Syr.3 (Louvain, 1914), p.155, as "insanus Arianus" Ἀρειομανίτης

[260]Athanasius was born in Alexandria in A.D. 295. Being a deacon he attended the Council of Nicaea (325) as secretary of his bishop, Alexander. He took a very active part in the proceedings of that Council which condemned Arius and his followers, who denied the divinity of Christ. Athanasius fought against the Arians as long as he lived; five times he had to leave his see and he spent seventeen years in exile. He died in 373. Cf. Berthold Altaner, Patrology, trans. Hilda C. Graeef (Freiburg, West Germany, 1960), pp. 312-23.

[261]A borrowed image from Luke 23:28.

[262]Luke 9;62.

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[263]Luke 17:32.

[264]Ezek. 46:9 after P which differs in two points from the Massoretic Hebrew and the LXX texts; first, in the grammatical number of the substantives "people" and "feast": P has "peoples" ܥܡܡܐ. MH-LXX have "people" ὁ λαός עַם־. P has "feast" ܥܘܕܐ. MH-LXX have "feasts" ταῖς ἑορταῖς בְּמוֹעֲדֵיהֶם. The same thing applies to the verb "to come" which agrees with its subject.

[265]Undoubtedly the Paulinian ideas in II Tim. 3:7 and 4:3-4 are at the basis of John's little speech here. That is what he meant by "wisdom."

[266]Matt. 22:29.

[267]John's answer must have been a severe irony and reproach to his adversaries for two main reasons: first, the Goths (Germans), who were mercenaries in the Roman army, were hated by the Greco-Roman population as a barbarian people that were more interested in plundering and wrongdoing than in anything else. Joshua the Stylite in his Chronicle, pp.8, 71-73, gives a life picture of their behaviour and the feelings of the people toward them. The second reason is that since the Chalcedonians were using the Goths who were mainly Arians to implement their Chalcedonian dogma, they were doing a shameful act. Cf. Ostrogorsky, op. cit., pp.45, 48 and 50; Vasiliev, HBE, pp.84-88; John of Ephesus, Eccl. Hist., pp.188-89.

[268]ζιζλῶσαι < ζιζλόω : "to confiscate, make private property public property." Cf. J. Malalas, op. cit., p.245, l. 11; Sophocles, Greek Lexicon, s.v.

[269]Lit. "you are giving the principates."

[270]Lit. "promising promises."

[271]Chorepiscopus < ἐπίσκοπος-χώρα: the bishop of the rural area or of the suburbs. The chorepiscopi are suffragans to the bishop of the city ἐπίσκοπος-πόλεως; the Council of Ancyra (A.D. 314) in Canon 13 defines some of their duties and their relationships with the Bishop of the city. Cf. H. Leclercq, "Choreveques," in DACL, III, 1, cols. 1423-41. On their modern status in all the Eastern Churches, cf. Jacques Leclef, "Chorévêque," Dictionnaire de droit canonique, III, cols. 686-95.

Amid is modern Diar-Bikr ديار بكر, also called آمد and Qara Âmîd in Turkish, in the northern part of Mesopotamia. In those days Amîd was famous because of the fierce defense it

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made against the Persian invasions time after time, and particularly because of the war machine called "The Crusher" حصاد, which the Amidene engineers invented and which hurled very heavy stones on the Persian Qawad's armies and forced him to release the siege of the city and withdraw in A.D. 503. Cf. Joshua the Stylite, op. cit., pp.40-42; Chronica minora: Chronicon Edessenum, ed. trans. I.Guidi, CSCO, IV, 1.Scr. Syr.3 (Paris, 1903), p.8 / A. Gr. 814_/.

[272]Lit. "according to your word" or "speech."

[273]Cf. n. 253 above.

[274]Lit. "were armed"; but here the Syriac word is taken in a metaphorical sense, hence: "be ready, prepared."

[275]Lit. "silver."

[276]Cf. Ar.: "a pair, a couple," زوج

[277]Καρούχα: a chariot of four wheels. Lat. carruca. Cf. Ex. 14:6. MH רֶכֶב, LXX ἅρματα, Pšiṭṭa ܪܟܒ̈ܐ; also Isa. 66:2. These examples point to a direct translation of the Old Testament -Peshiṭṭa from the original Hebrew. On this particular, cf. Frantz Buhl, Canon and Text of the Old Testament, trans. J. MacPherson (Edinburgh, 1892), pp.188-90.

[278]This Secretarium was one of two Sacristies, that is to say, two lateral rooms that flanked the main body of the Church and which were used, one as a wardrobe to keep the liturgical vessels and robes, and the other, reserved for rather more ordinary, and secular purposes. Cf. Jean Lassus, Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie (Paris, 1947), p.296 and passim.

[279]Lit. "many," adjective in feminine plural.

[280]Lit. "like them," having for antecedent the word "many" in Syr. Cf. previous n. They asked him presumably to submit to Patriarch Ephraim (cf. pp.86-7 above) but he said to them (which is not literally in the text) that they should rather anathematize the Council of Chalcedon and pay obedience to Patriarch Severus.

[281]Σχολαστικός: a lawyer, Lat. "Advocatus." This meaning is found in many ecclesiastical documents of an early stage, as for example, in the Synod of

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Sardica (A.D. 343-44), after Hamilton Hess, The Canons of the Council of Sardica (Oxford, 1958), p.40, in the Codex canonum Ecclesiae Africanae, ch. 97. Cf. Du Cange, Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis (Lyon, 1688), s.v.; it has references. Also, A Patristic Greek Lexicon, ed. G. Lampe (Oxford, 1968), s.v.

[282] ἀκαταστάσία : "instability, anarchy, confusion." Cf. H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, op. cit., s.v.

[283] Ephraim was paraphrasing I Cor. 1:19-28.

[284] John 12:42-43.

[285] Or "was made flesh". Cf. John 1:14. This dogma was solemnly defined in the Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (A.D. 325), in the document known as the Nicaean Creed. Cf. David Bowman, op. cit., p.81; also Mansi, op. cit., II, cols. 667 Latin-668 Greek.

[286] θεοτόκος, this was the rallying cry of Cyril's group at the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431)--and it was defined then as a dogmatic truth. Cf. Bowman, op. cit., pp.83-86; COD, pp.47-48. The Council condemned Nestorius. Cf. n. 175 above.

[287] The ellipsis indicates a lacuna in the text.

[288] Lit. "your shout," in singular.

[289] The whole problem of Monophysitism stems from identifying two basic philosophical terms: "nature" φύσις and "person" πρόσωπον or ὑπόστασις as equivalent or interchangeable. Thus the Monophysites could not accept that Christ after the incarnation had two natures, which would mean for them two persons. "For," Philoxenus says, "if we admit (in Him) nature and nature, we must necessarily admit person and person, and consequently we must acknowledge two Sons and two Gods." See Three Letters of Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabbôgh (485-519), trans. Arthur A. Vaschalde (Rome, 1902), p.12i. The quotation is from his "Letter to Emperor Zeno." Cf. also Robert V. Sellers, Two Ancient Christologies (London, 1940), pp.97-9 and footnotes.

[290] Lit. "an other ... and an other."

[291] John tries to counterpart what we may assume was a captious argumentation of Rufinus.

[292] Lit. "in much nor in few."

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[293]I Cor. 9:26.

[294]Lit. "Do not ask the things that come to your mouth."

[295]Cf. J. P. Migne, PG, LXXV, col. 1289. By saying that Christ made man "has gotten a rational soul," Cyril attacks the doctrine of Apollinaris, Bishop of Laodicea (d. after 390) who, following the trichotomy of Plato on the human soul and in order to avoid the danger of multiplying the number of persons in Christ, denied that Christ has a rational soul, the νοῦς or πνεῦμα since the divinity substitutes it. Cf. G. Bareille, "Apollinaire le jeune" in DTC, I.2, cols. 1505-7.

[296]Cf. Migne, PG, LXXVII (Paris, 1864), cols. 192-93.

[297]Cf. Cyril's "Epistolam ad Succensem" in Migne, PG, LXXVII, col. 232. Always the Monophysites claimed to follow St. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria (d. 444). Cyril used rather an ambiguous terminology: for him φύσις and ὑπόστασις were equivalent to each other and meant "one total, concrete reality." See Bowman, op. cit., p.84.

[298]Χρῆσις is a passage adduced as a proof, a quotation; cf. Du Cange, op. cit., s.v.

[299]After A which says: ܗܘ ܕܡܫܬܡܥ Cf. Kleyn, op. cit., p.68, l. 9. C, p.83, l. 10, has ܗܘ ܕܡܫܬܡܥ ܐܘ

[300]Ezek. 13:19.

[301]Phil. 3:19.

[302]Rom. 16:18.

[303]Phil. 3:19.

[304]Lit. "the wicked fist"; Cf. Isa. 58:4 where P uses the same words to translate Hebrew בְּאֶגְרֹף-רֶשַׁע

[305]Certainly not on doctrinal grounds, since Patriarch Severus refuted Mani's theories with severe words calling the Manicheans "very perverted" ones, "idiots" and their doctrine "absurd." Cf. Franz Cumont, M.-A. Kugener, "Extrait de la CXIII[e] homélie de Sévère d'Antioche" in Recherches sur le manichéisme, II (Brussels, 1912), pp.89-150.

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[306]Lit. "my word by which you were going to be justified at its end not a little." Notice the sarcasm of John in it!

[307]γνῶμα : a token, a sign, a characteristic way of behaviour, disposition etc. Cf. Liddell Scott, op. cit., s.v.

[308]Cf. John of Ephesus, Eccl. Hist., p.236. This information given by John of Tella is a new data that should be added to Payne Smith's "Excursus" on the Munzir's problem discussed in pp.244-49 of his translation of the Eccl. Hist. of John of Ephesus.

[309]Originally the Acephaloi were the churchmen, especially the monks, who refused to communicate with Patriarch Peter Mongus of Alexandria who met with Patriarch Acacius of Constantinople and agreed to draw up a new Profession of Faith in which they expressively condemned both Nestorius and Eutyches but did not mention at all the Chalcedonian decisions. Afterwards those Egyptian monks, the Acephaloi, joined the Monophysites of Severus. Literally the word means "the headless." Later on it was applied in a loose sense to almost any Monophysite. Cf. V. Oblet, "Acéphales" in DTC, I, 1 (Paris, 1935), cols. 308-9.

[310]Severus was the "true legislator of Monophysitism" as J. Maspero calls him in his Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie (Paris, 1923), p.3. After advanced studies in Liberal Arts in Alexandria and Law in Beirut, he became a monk in Palestine. In A.D. 508, he went to Constantinople where he won the admiration and the respect of the imperial court. Anastasius (cf. above n. 95) would have liked to see him Patriarch of the Capital but the majority of the population was Chalcedonian. After bloody fights between Chalcedonians and Monophysites and thanks to the activities of his friend Philoxenus of Mabbogh and the Monophysite monks, he became Patriarch of Antioch after the ousting and deposition of Patriarch Flavian II, in A.D. 512. At the ascension to the throne of Justin I (cf. above n. 131), who was a Chalcedonian, Severus narrowly escaped the imperial order for his arrest, and he fled by sea to Alexandria where Patriarch Timothy welcomed him. That was on the 29th of September, 518. Severus was an eloquent orator and the foremost theologian of his time, as his works show. There are two Lives of Severus: one written by Zacharias Scholasticus in Greek of which only the Syriac version survived, and another one written by John of Beth Aphtonia in Syriac; both of them

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have been edited with a French translation by M.-A. Kugener in PO, II, 1 and II, 3 (Paris, n.d.), pp.7-115 and pp.207-331 respectively. Cf. also Honigmann, EEM, pp.19-25 and G. Downey, A History of Antioch in Syria (Princeton, 1961), pp.509-513; both have abundant bibliographies. On Severus' dogmatic theories cf. Joseph Lebon, Le monophysisme sévérien (Louvain, 1909), p. 118 ff.

[311]Theodotius was elected Patriarch of Alexandria in A.D. 535 and deposed only one year later because of his Monophysitism; he died in A.D. 556. Cf. Jean Maspero, op. cit., p.357 and passim.

[312]Anthimus, Patriarch of Constantinople (A.D. 535-36) was "famous for his conciliatory policy towards the Monophysites." See Vasiliev, HBE, p.151. Justinian was forced by Pope Agapetus and the Akoimetoi (extreme orthodox) to depose him just after one year of office in 536. His enemies called him "acephalous." Cf. The Cambridge Medieval History, ed. J. M. Hussey, IV, 1 (Cambridge, 1966), p.436.

[313]From Lat. notarius.

[314]A omits from "so that we may..." to "you are a liar." See Kleyn, op. cit., p.71, ll. 4-5 vs., l. 6 ibid. and cf. with C in Brooks, Vitae, p.86, l. 1.

[315]A says "the oaths or the acts at the same time" which implies a contradiction in terminis.

[316]"Orthodox" in Monophysitism means the Monophysites themselves as opposed to the Council of Chalcedon which was for them heretic and noncanonical. Cf. A. Vaschalde, op. cit., p.93, n. 3.

[317]Which would mean adhesion to their doctrine.

[318]A Persian golden coin originally named after Darius Hystaspes (521-486 B.C.) who struck it first. Cf. Jessie Payne Smith, A Compendious Syriac Dictionary (Oxford, 1903), s.v.; Clément Huart, L. Delaporte, P. Masson-Oursel, L'Iran antique (Paris, 1952), pp.282 and 314. Later on it came to mean, the ordinary Byzantine gold coin. Cf. Michel Psellos, Chronographie, I, book vi ch. 62, ed. trans. E. Renauld (Paris, 1926), p.147.

[319]E. Honigmann identifies Gigliga with the ancient Heraclea mentioned by Strabo and Ptolemeus. The Greek form is Gaggaliken. Cf. Honigmann, EEM, p.51, n. 7 with references therein.

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[320]Cf. n. 271 above.

[321]Honigmann identifies this monastery with the ruins at nearby Antioch which are called Kuminaz or Aqminas. Cf. E. Honigmann, "Nordsyrische Klöster in vorarabischer Zeit," Zeitschrift für Semitistik, I (1922), 192, n. 9, and n. 319 above.

[322]This legal document seems to be, in this context, a guarantee given by the defendent to the prosecutor by which the defendent guarantees to appear before the court when summoned.

[323]The lecticarii, also called dekanoi and copiatae were some pious men and women who formed an association which performed the last services of the faithful-dead. They were placed under the orders of the trustees of the church. Justinian treated their legal status in his Codex and in his Novels. The most recent and the best study on the lecticarii I know of is by Henri Grégoire, Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure (Paris, 1922), p.36, col. 2. Brooks, Vitae, p.55, n. 4 (Latin version) says that they were "clerics," but there is no evidence for such an assumption, as Grégoire affirms after I. P. Waltzing in his work Étude historique sur les corporations professionelles chez les Romains ii (Brussels, 1895-96), p.130.

[324]Lit. "the sleepless ones." In Greek they are called Akoimetoi: "the monks who sought to maintain prayer both night and day within the monastery." See "The Life of St. Daniel the Stylite" in Three Byzantine Saints, trans. Elizabeth Dawes and Norman H. Baynes (Oxford, 1948), p. 19 and footnote p.75. The founder of the "sleepless monks" was Alexander who built a monastery in Constantinople in A.D. 420. In the time of John of Tella the sleepless monks formed the extremist Chalcedonian counterpart of the extremist Monophysite wing called the Acephaloi that we have already met. Cf. n. 309 above; Vasiliev, HBE, pp.108 and 151-52; J. M. Besse, op. cit., pp.46-47.

[325]Lit. "for reason of the waters of his feet", a euphemism for "to urinate."

[326]Lit. "and...open their mouth against him."

[327]The writer considers the very presence of Ephraim in Antioch as an evil omen since the first earthquake occurred in A.D. 526 while he was still the comes Orientis, cf. n. 208, and now this second one in A.D. 528 of which

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Theophanes, op. cit., A.M. 6021, gives complete details; John Malalas, op. cit., 442.18-443.7, and Evagrius, Hist. Eccl., 4.5, are more brief. The church referred to here is that which Constantine the Great built in A.D. 327, which was dedicated in A.D. 341. On the occasion of the dedication Ephraim held a synod in A.D. 537-38 "of 132 bishops, all of whom reaffirmed in writing the faith of the Council of Chalcedon and anathematized Severus of Antioch." See Downey, A History of Antioch in Syria, p. 533; also pp.342, 521, 528, n. 111 and p.533, n. 138, for more bibliography. Presumably it is to this synod that the biographer of John alludes on p.104 above.

[328]Lit. "sons of men without numbering."

[329]Lit. "and he sent me to you."

[330]Lit. "to enter to my part."

[331]Hendiadys common in the Semitic languages. Cf. Ar. ...فاجاب وقال; Hebr. ... וַיַּעַן ... וַיֹּאמֶר

[332]Lit. "every thing which you think of."

[333]Cf. p.96 of the translation.

[334]Lit. "he said to me to say." For the use of the past tense to express the hypothetical idea in Syriac, cf. Costaz, op. cit., par. 780.

[335]Notice the irony: John was asked to say what he thinks to be truth, but they wanted him to say what they think to be truth.

[336]Cf. St. Cyril's letter to Bishop Succensus of Diocesarea "On the Faith" in PG, LXXVII, col. 232 ff.

[337]Lit. "and he went out."

[338]Hendiadys, Cf. n. 331 above.

[339]Matt. 5:44.

[340]That is to say, confused, astonished.

[341]Lit. "he knew clearly about his death that it was near.

[342]Lit. "in many prayers."

[343]Understood, the Monophysitic belief.

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[344]Lit. "of the years of Alexander."

[345]A.D. 538. Cf. V. Grumel, La chronologie (Paris, 1958), p.245. Also W. Wright, op. cit., p.82.

[346]Lit. "was not near by."

[347]Lit. "those who are empowered to take care of and organize the functions of the church."

[348]II Tim. 4:7.

[349]Matt. 25:20-24.

[350]Matt. 20:12[b].

[351]II Tim. 4:8.

[352]Luke 6:21-23; Matt. 5:6 and 5:11-12.

[353]John 12:26[a].

[354]A says of John that "he was a confessor and martyr by his own will. Cf. Kleyn, op. cit., p.83. John is reckoned as a saint in the Jacobite Liturgical Year; his holy day is celebrated on the 6th of February. Cf. Assemani, BO, II, p.54.

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TITLE OF THESIS THE BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN OF TELLA (d. A.D 537) BY ELIAS TRANSLATED FROM THE SYRIAC WITH A HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC COMMENTARIES

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